HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XXIX, No. 33 | Copyright 1969 by HUMAN EVENTS, Inc. | August 16, 1969 | 35¢

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Push Continues for Direct Presidential Vote

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Nine months have passed since the great Wallace threat dissolved, and most of the steam has seeped out of the drive for electoral reform. Nevertheless, the House Judiciary Committee has approved a radical proposal for constitutional amendment, and House Rules has sent the resolution to the floor. The measure will have high priority when members return from the summer recess.

It may be hard for apolitical readers to recall just what was embodied in the great Wallace threat. The fear was that Alabama's former Gov. George Wallace, running on a third-party ticket, would win enough electoral votes to prevent either Nixon or Humphrey from obtaining a clear majority of the total. In that event, Wallace might have bargained off his bloc before the electors cast their votes in December; or the election might have been thrown to the House, where each state would have cast a single vote. No one knows what might have happened.

As it turned out, nothing happened. One North Carolina elector, who had been expected to vote for Nixon, exercised his constitutional right and voted for Wallace instead. Even so, the Wallace total fell short; Nixon had 31 votes to spare, and the putative crisis passed.

The can of worms remains. The uncertain and cumbersome procedures by which a President is elected scarcely can be defended. The problem of the maverick elector is small; the contingency of election in the House is remote; but the palpable unfairness of the "winner take all" system, by which a small number of popular votes may control a state's entire electoral vote, cries out for remedial action.

Yet the situation emphatically does not cry out for the drastic scheme approved by the House committee. The committee calls for direct popular election of our Presidents hereafter. Under its resolution, the effective regulation of virtually all elections would pass from the states to the Congress. The proposed amendment, if ratified, ultimately would destroy the concept of federal union. "This is not electoral reform," said John Dowdy of Texas. "It is political transformation."

David W. Dennis (R.-Ind.) also dissented from the House committee's report.

"This proposed change in the Constitution is a fundamental one," Dennis said. "It goes a long way toward transforming us from a federal Republic to a unitary national democracy. This change may, perhaps, not necessarily be entirely bad, but it is fundamental; it should be so recognized; and the burden of proof should rest heavily on its proponents."

Rep. John Dowdy (D.-Tex.) says direct voting is not political reform, but "political transformation."

Popular election sounds so easy! What could be simpler, what more democratic? On close examination, as still other members of the House committee observed, the problems are immensely complex.

Fear that a third-party candidate could force the presidential election into the House is one major reason for the rush by some congressmen to change the presidential election method.

Under present law, each state fixes its own qualifications for voting and supervises its own elections. The system has its drawbacks—a newcomer to Mississippi must wait two years before he can vote in a presidential election, while a newcomer to Maryland may vote after 45 days—but the system has advantages also: The state constituencies are confined; they are of manageable size; and they operate in each state under a body of established election law.

The proposed amendment would drastically alter this federal scheme. Congress would provide for a runoff election if no presidential candidate received 40 per cent of the vote. Congress would fix minimum residence requirements. Congress would provide for absentee ballots. Congress would write laws for just about everything else.

And because it would be chaotic to have two sets of electors, one for presidential elections and another for state elections, the states would have to abandon powers they retain under a federal structure. Nothing but a shell would remain.

As Dennis suggests, this may be what the people want. It may be a good thing. But good or bad, the proposed change is fundamental, and ought to be approached in a spirit of prayerful thought. In my own view, a far better and wiser answer can be found.

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NEWSPAPER

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Capital Briefs

● In outlining over network television last week his sweeping new domestic proposals—a package he chose to call the **"New Federalism"**—President Nixon made a number of statements that caused rejoicing in conservative circles. Particularly pleasing was the President's pledge to try to reverse "a third of a century of centralizing power and responsibility in Washington," a trend which, he said, "has produced a bureaucratic monstrosity, cumbersome, unresponsive and ineffective."

● Administration insiders insist that HEW Secretary **Robert Finch**, surprisingly enough, played a key role in drawing up President Nixon's revolutionary new welfare proposals, which make an earnest effort to remove people from welfare and put them back to work.

● Those who watched the ABM vote from the galleries received an interesting sidelight into presidential politics when that first Smith amendment came up for a rollcall. That measure, defeated 89 to 11, prohibited all spending for any phase of the Safeguard system and would probably have barred any funds for even research and development on any ABM system. When Sen. **Edmund Muskie** (D.-Maine), a leading contender for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972, voted for the Smith proposal, Sen. **George McGovern** (D.-S.D.), another leading contender for the nomination, decided to switch his vote from "No" to "Yes." McGovern, apparently, didn't want Muskie to get a "liberal" leg up on him in the race for the nomination.

● The Defense Department's research director testified last week that he believes Soviet Russia has developed and will have deployed by late next year a **multiple-warhead missile** with "little other function" than the aim of wiping out U.S. Minutemen through a hostile, first strike.

● Jack Anderson, who co-authors the "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column with Drew Pearson, wrote last week that **Teddy Kennedy** intimates now say that the senator deliberately turned toward the bridge on Chappaquiddick for the purpose of taking a midnight swim with Mary Jo Kopechne. After the accident, says Anderson, Teddy persuaded his cousin Joe Gargan "to take the rap for him," but thought better of it in the "cold light of dawn." Gargan has flatly denied the Anderson story. The upcoming inquest, it is hoped, will reveal where the truth lies.

● Editorial support for **Teddy Kennedy,** which has been almost nonexistent in this country, appeared last week in the Soviet Union. The official party journal Komsomolskaya Pravda rallied to Teddy's side, asserting that "right-wing circles" were victimizing the young "liberal."

● Gen. **William Westmoreland**, chief of staff for the U.S. Army, has privately told House lawmakers that the military situation in South Viet Nam looks extraordinarily good for the United States. According to Westmoreland, the President can afford to withdraw American combat troops at a rapid rate with no fear of a Communist victory. Since Nixon, unlike LBJ, has begun to provide the Vietnamese with essential weapons, says Westmoreland, South Viet Nam's soldiers appear capable of dealing effectively with Red fighting units.

● At least seven lawmakers, including Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.) and Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa), are working diligently to uncover damaging information on Supreme Court Justice **William O. Douglas**. By the time the new court term begins in October, many hope to have enough material to force Douglas off the bench.

● Political pro **Tom Lias,** the hard-working young conservative who served as campaign director for the Republican Congressional Committee, has moved over to the White House. Lias is serving as an aide to Nixon's top political honcho, Harry Dent.

● **George C. Wallace**, who ran unsuccessfully for the presidency last year, is expected to seek another term as Alabama's governor by opposing incumbent Albert P. Brewer in the Democratic primary next spring. Alabama politicos say Wallace, if he beats Brewer, would then use his position to launch a new presidential campaign in 1972.

● **Robert Strausz-Hupe,** a leading conservative intellectual, was named ambassador to Morocco last week. Strausz-Hupe, a key foreign policy adviser to Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential campaign, will draw liberal opposition when his name comes up for Senate confirmation.

● Reports from Texas indicate that former Gov. **John Connally** is ready to challenge liberal Sen. Ralph Yarborough in next year's Democratic primary. If elected to the Senate, the long-time intimate of Lyndon Johnson is prepared to campaign for the White House in 1972.

● A federal grand jury in Baltimore is conducting a closed-door probe of former Sen. **Daniel Brewster's finances.** The liberal Democrat claimed that he had "no idea" what the blue-ribbon panel was looking into, but acknowledged to newsmen that he did file an incorrect financial statement during his unsuccessful campaign for re-election last fall.

● The Justice Department has set up a special task force to investigate the virulent **Black Panthers.** In operation for little more than a month, the task force is studying Panther activities from New York to Oakland to see if more than 20 federal statutes have been violated.

● Sen. John McClellan will re-open the **TFX affair** when his Permanent Investigations subcommittee finishes its probe of campus violence. McClellan hopes to call former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara to answer still more questions regarding the scandal-tinged project.

● **John Lindsay** got some dubious support last week. Hollywood swinger Frank Sinatra, a one-time member of the Rat Pack until he was blackballed by the Kennedy clan, announced that he would raise funds for the New York mayor.

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Human Events is published weekly by Human Events, Inc., 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. One-year subscription, $12.50 (see coupon at right).

Bound volumes, fully indexed. Any year, $20.00. Any six years $100.00.

1968 in 1 Volume
1967 in 1 Volume
1966 in 1 Volume
1962 in 2 Volumes
1961 in 2 Volumes

Past volumes of *Human Events* on microfilm available directly from University Microfilms, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106. Reprinted bound volumes, 1960 and prior, available directly from Johnson Reprint Corp., 111 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003.

Human Events cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of *Human Events*.

U.S. national newsstand distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 155 W. 15th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

ADDRESS CHANGES: Write new address, city, state and ZIP Code on plain sheet of paper. Attach mailing label from an issue of HUMAN EVENTS and send to: Circulation Department, HUMAN EVENTS, 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Allow 3 to 4 weeks for change to become effective.

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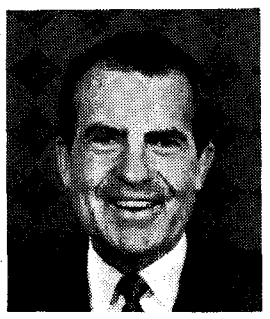
Nixon Moves Cheer Conservatives

Ever since the U.S. planted two astronauts on the moon three weeks ago, President Nixon appears to have posted a string of diplomatic and domestic triumphs, not the least of which was the vanquishing of his ABM opponents. Together with the new, rightward thrust of some of the Administration's latest legislative programs, these triumphs have been particularly pleasing to congressional conservatives, many of whom are not always in accord with the President's policies. Here is why the Nixon Administration is now being viewed more warmly by conservatives in the Nation's Capital:



NIXON

• The President's journey to Asia is counted—at least at this present juncture—as a remarkable diplomatic achievement. Nixon's message at Guam and to top Asian leaders was this: While the United States will not abandon its Pacific allies and, indeed, will continue to furnish them with the necessary military hardware to resist Red aggression, the Asians will no longer be able to count on the U.S. government to automatically commit American combat troops in the event of Red insurgencies or even across-the-border invasions.

By making it clear that the United States is prepared to reduce its troop involvement in Asia, the President is said to be purposely goading the non-Communist Asians into forming their own defensive security system. Yet Nixon also made the point that the United States is not about to cut and run out on its present commitments. His quick trip to Saigon, his lavish praise for President Thieu and his statement to U.S. soldiers in Viet Nam that he was doing all he could to see "that you didn't fight in vain" were not considered empty gestures but a solid promise to prevent a Viet Nam sell-out.

Furthermore, by wisely avoiding the position that no circumstances would ever arise in the future that would call for the use of American troops, the President kept his options open and could hardly be accused of inviting Communist aggression.

Hence, hard-line foreign policy observers stress that the President managed to accomplish an extremely difficult and delicate diplomatic task on his Asian journey. Without panicking our allies he was still able to convince them that they must depend more and more upon their own resources in the future in fighting off fresh Communist thrusts.

• Nixon's visit to Rumania is also considered to have been a cunning diplomatic gambit. For the first time in recent memory, some foreign policy experts are claiming, the United States has taken the offensive against the Soviet Union, with Nixon, in effect, asserting that the United States has every intention of tampering with Soviet spheres of influence. No longer, it is being said, can the Soviets count on the United States not to take advantage of Moscow's own vulnerabilities.

Not only did the trip—despite some staging by the Rumanian government—tap a wellspring of affection for the United States, it has also caused increasing friction between the Soviets and Rumania. Immediately following the President's journey, in fact, Soviet delegates attending the 10th Congress of the Rumanian Communist party in Bucharest, warned Rumanian leaders to be wary of the "perfidious practice of bridge-building" through which capitalist countries allegedly undermine the unity of the Soviet-dominated Communist bloc.

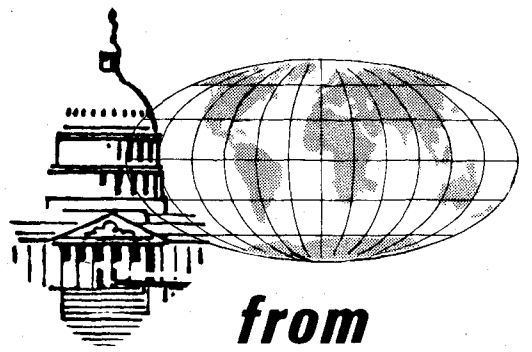
Konstantin Katushev, the leader of the Soviet delegation, pointedly recalled the doctrine enunciated by Soviet party boss Leonid Brezhnev under which the Soviets reserve the right to intervene into any "Socialist" country. It was under the Brezhnev doctrine that the Soviets invaded Czechoslovakia.

Thus, despite the warnings of some conservatives, the President's Rumanian gambit obviously struck a raw Soviet nerve and can only be looked upon as putting the Russians on the defensive—another coup for the United States.

• The President's refusal to compromise on the ABM struggle—despite obvious temptations to do so—has also won him a vote of confidence among hard-line foreign policy experts. By refusing to panic, despite the narrow victory for the ABM in the Senate last week, the President will now be able to go ahead with deployment of this vital defensive system.

The House, it is expected, will overwhelmingly approve the Administration measure. As a result of the Senate victory and Nixon's holding firm against any compromise, it is said, the President will no longer have to fear that he must deal with the Soviets from a position of weakness.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

• Other decisions by the President and his Cabinet officials in recent weeks have also won the Administration high praise, again especially from the conservative wing of the party. In keeping its promise to promote an all-out drive against crime, the Justice Department has taken a significant step to get the courts to uphold convictions based on uncoerced confessions. A department memorandum instructs its lawyers to offer confessions as evidence in court, even though the suspects who confessed were not provided all the warnings requested by the Supreme Court's decision in *Miranda vs. Arizona*. This strategy is being pursued largely on the basis that the Supreme Court, with a conservative chief justice and sans Abe Fortas and Earl Warren, will modify, if not overturn, the 5-to-4 *Miranda* ruling.

• The Nixon Administration, further, is continuing its courting of the South in regard to civil rights matters. House lawmakers stress that the leadership in the Republican party was largely responsible for keeping Rep. Jamie Whitten's (D.-Miss.) amendment to the HEW appropriation measure last week. The Whitten amendment provides that no federal funds can be used to force the busing of students, the closing of schools or the placing of students in schools against the wishes of their parents.

• Aside from all this, the President's revolutionary welfare proposals, as outlined by Administration officials before Nixon delivered his nationwide TV address last Friday, reveal a remarkably ingenious effort to remove people from welfare rolls.

While providing a federal minimum floor for welfare recipients in every state—$1,600 per year for a family of four, to be supplemented by state funds—the federal plan is weighted towards job training and job opportunities. Every head of a household receiving the federal payments would be considered an applicant for training and employment—and would lose benefits by rejecting such offers unless he were physically or mentally unfit. The revolutionary "family security program," moreover, is designed to replace the present system of public welfare and would abolish Aid to Dependent Children and virtually junk the current food stamp program.

In the main, the Nixon proposals appear to represent a radical departure from liberal programs that have showered the unemployed and the poverty-stricken with money, but have failed to provide incentives for persons to climb off the welfare rolls.

All in all, then, the past few weeks of the Nixon Administration have been a resounding success—and extremely pleasing to those who have expected the Administration to steer a starboard course.

'Reward Rumania, Punish Poland'

In the wake of President Nixon's voyage to Rumania, in which he obviously opened up a rift between Moscow and Bucharest, Cold War strategists are hoping the President will now pursue a new strategy that will cause further dissension within the Communist empire: Reward Rumania, punish Poland.

Rumania, it is agreed, is a ruthless, Red-controlled country, but the small Eastern European nation has displayed a remarkable degree of independence from Moscow's foreign policy. Not only has it recognized West Germany, but, more important, it was the one member of the Warsaw Pact powers that refused to invade Czechoslovakia last summer.

Poland, on the other hand, was in the forefront of those subservient satellites that moved across the Czech border to crush the brief flicker of freedom that had been lit. Furthermore, Polish ships have been helping to keep North Viet Nam's war machine running at full tilt with the tons of supplies that they carry into Haiphong harbor.

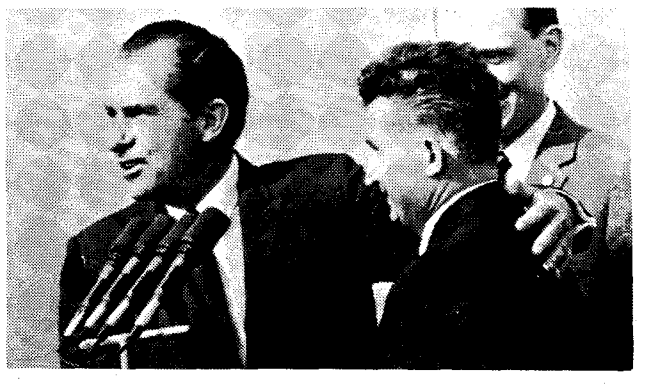
Nixon, it is being argued, should now propose "most-favored-nation" (MFN) treatment—i.e., tariff concessions—for Rumania, while urging Congress to simultaneously strip MFN treatment from Poland.

Such a move, it is believed, would not only sow further friction among the Eastern European countries, but would encourage the conviction that only those Red nations that make an effort to move out from under Moscow's thumb will be rewarded with U.S. trade.

Congressional legislation to grant Rumania MFN treatment has already been introduced by Rep. Paul Findley (R.-Ill.) and Sen. Walter Mondale (D.-Minn.). But Cold Warriors insist that granting tariff concessions to Rumania without removing them from Poland would not serve the purpose of causing dissension within Communist ranks or reveal the determination of the United States to only reward its "friends," not its enemies.

Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.), Rep. Benjamin Blackburn (R.-Ga.) and Rep. Edward Derwinski (R.-Ill.) have indicated a desire to introduce or support legislation that would strip Poland of its MFN treatment and grant it to Rumania, but only if Rumania agrees to stop aiding North Viet Nam.

As a result of statements he has made in the past, Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, may also be sympathetic to this strategy of playing one Communist nation off against another. Mills, moreover, was instrumental in taking away MFN treatment from Poland in the late 1950s, and he has repeatedly suggested to friends in recent years that Poland should not receive special tariff concessions. The Poles, for instance, use the proceeds of sales to the West of Polish hams and sausages to acquire radar and navigational equipment to be installed aboard Soviet ships manufactured in Poland.



President Nixon embraces Rumanian President Nicolae Ceaucescu as he departs Bucharest on his way home.

At any rate, a growing number of anti-Communist experts, bolstered by a sympathetic reaction among many congressmen, are pushing the "reward Rumania, punish Poland" strategy. And they believe that Congress, with a push from the President, can translate this economic warfare ploy into reality.

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Nixon Asks Welfare Reforms

President Nixon's sweeping $4-billion revolutionary welfare reform program has won initial cautious praise on Capitol Hill. As outlined by White House aides before the President's televised address to the nation, the new program would begin by scrapping the controversial Aid to Dependent Children and food stamp programs.

These, and the hodge-podge of individual state welfare programs, would be replaced by a federal minimum floor for welfare recipients in every state, amounting to $1,600 per year for a family of four. States would supplement this payment with their own funds.

The Nixon plan would be radically different from previous welfare programs in that every head of a household receiving the federal family payments would be automatically considered to be an applicant for job training and/or employment. If the applicant refuses a job or training offer, including those where his transportation costs would be paid for, he automatically loses his federal benefits, unless he is physically or mentally unfit.

Mothers heading households and caring for preschool children would not be required to accept training or employment. However, the Administration is asking for an "enriched" day-care center program, some of it financed by private enterprise, to make it easier for these mothers to work.

If the head of a household refuses employment or training, his children would still receive welfare benefits. But these would be paid to them through a trustee, most likely a social agency.

Also, while a household head is undergoing job training, he would receive an extra $30 monthly federal payment. As an added inducement to work, the trainee or wage-earner would be permitted to keep all of the first $60 per month (or $720 annually) he makes on his job, in addition to having the basic family payment.

When the worker earns more than $60 a month, the family payment would be reduced by $1 for every $2 he earns above the $60-per-month figure. This would diminish the family payments as the worker's income rises, and when he reaches an income of about $3,920—some $620 above the official "poverty level"—the family payments would be cut off.

Because of the sweeping nature of the Nixon proposals, and the continuing controversy over welfare, the Administration expects lengthy congressional —and public—debate on this program. No matter how long it takes for legislation to be enacted, the proposals could not possibly take effect until after the end of the current fiscal year in June 1970.

But presidential advisers are encouraged by the initial response and are hopeful of redeeming the campaign pledge made last year by Nixon: To see millions more on the payrolls, instead of on the welfare rolls.

Nixon's Safeguard Victory

Supporters of President Nixon's plan to begin deploying the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile defense system won the breathtaking showdown last week by fighting off two major amendments designed to scrap the Safeguard ABM or delay its deployment for at at least a year.

A coalition of defense-minded senators in both parties first combined to narrowly defeat an amendment by Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R.-Maine) that would have halted the Safeguard system altogether and would have permitted nothing but research and development on other "advance" anti-ballistic missile programs. The vote was 50 for the amendment and 51 opposed, with Vice President Spiro Agnew casting an unnecessary vote against the Smith amendment to a military authorization bill. (Under the Senate rules, a tie vote defeats an amendment.)

Then an almost identical bloc defeated by a 51-to-49 margin—with Mrs. Smith unpredictably voting in opposition—the Hart-Cooper amendment that would have permitted research and development on the Safeguard system, but would have barred any spending to begin building the two initial stations planned for North Dakota and Montana (see rollcall below).

With these two votes out of the way, it was clear that the Senate would pass the Safeguard program intact. With House approval now assured, the government can go ahead with plans for the construction of the first two of 12 projected sites in this fiscal year. There is no time to be lost. Our leading scientists, both in and out of the Defense Department, report that before 1975 the Russians will have the capacity to destroy 95 per cent of the retaliatory Minuteman force in a surprise attack unless we deploy the ABM.

Credit for the Senate victory obviously must be shared by every individual who voted against the Smith and Cooper-Hart amendments, but a few senators stood out in this epic struggle. Sen. John Stennis (D.-Miss.), chairman of the Armed Services Committee, played a crucial role in preventing the scrapping of the Safeguard, as did Sen. Henry Jackson (D.-Wash.).

On the Republican side, Sen. John Tower (Tex.), the President's hand-picked man to guide the Republicans on this issue, employed a five-man platoon to see to it that there was always someone on the Senate floor to take issue with statements issued by ABM opponents. This platoon consisted of Barry Goldwater (Ariz.), Peter Dominick (Colo.), George Murphy (Calif.), Strom Thurmond (S.C.) and Tower.

Both Democratic and Republican observers agree that the "key" to the victory was a closed-door session in which both Senators Jackson and Dominick shared the duties of explaining to their colleagues what the ABM fight was all about.

Debate was sharp. Sen. Jackson, Nixon's first choice to be secretary of defense, revealed in final argument that, far from the optimistic mutterings of the ABM foes, the Soviets are "continuing to install their very large SS-9 missiles, each capable of carrying one gigantic 20- to 25-megaton warhead. The number of their SS-9 missiles operational or under construction now considerably exceeds the figure of 230 used as late as May by [Defense] Secretary Laird." Jackson also revealed—again contrary to the beliefs of the ABM opponents—that the Soviets have been working hard on perfecting their own ABM system.

The Washington Democrat further devastated the opposition by demonstrating the scientific predictions of Dr. Jerome Wiesner have been extremely wide of the mark over the years. Wiesner, a former adviser to President Kennedy, functioned as the key scientist used by ABM foes to prove that the ABM couldn't work.

"In February 1952," noted Jackson, "it was said that the Soviets could not be expected to have any ICBMs before the late 1960s. Who made that prediction, plainly in error before the year 1953 was even over? That prediction was made in the final report of the Lincoln Summer Study, among whose prominent members were President James Killian of MIT, Dr. Carl Kaysen of MIT, and Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner of MIT." (All three scientists have been vigorously fighting the ABM.)

"In 1962," Jackson continued, "it was said that lunar orbital rendezvous would be a poor way to send men to the moon, that it would not work, that it involved too great risks for the lives of the astronauts, and so on. Who said that? Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, then science adviser to President Kennedy. Fortunately, President Kennedy did not follow Dr. Wiesner's counsel on this issue. He followed the advice of the responsible technical experts in NASA."

Sen. Gale McGee, a liberal Democrat from Wyoming, cut to the core of the issue. The President, he told his colleagues, has been advised to go ahead with the ABM. If he decides to go ahead with it and he turns out to be wrong, "what are the consequences? In this case I suppose the expenditure of a great many billions of dollars. . . .

"But the real test comes when a President has to ask himself, 'Suppose I am wrong if we do not deploy it. Then, what are the consequences?' I think it is immediately obvious. . . ." And because it was obvious to a majority of those who voted on this crucial issue, the ABM will finally be deployed.

• Sen. Henry Jackson (D.-Wash.) is extremely miffed at the antics of freshman Sen. Mike Gravel (D.-Wash.) over the ABM issue. Almost up until the time of the crucial Senate votes last week, Gravel pretended he was "undecided" on how to vote and requested special sessions with President Nixon so he could allegedly make up his mind on the issue. Jackson arranged for a visit with the President and spent much time himself in trying to persuade the Alaskan lawmaker to back the ABM, but Gravel, as Jackson later learned, had actually made up his mind to vote against the ABM from almost the very beginning. "He was just playing games," says one Democratic observer.

ABM Rollcall

The historic ABM issue was decided in three rollcall votes on August 6. The first amendment to the proposal was offered by Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R.-Me.). This first amendment, backed by only 11 liberal senators, would have blocked *all* Safeguard activities, including research and development. Those voting in favor on this first rollcall were:

DEMOCRATS (8): Fulbright, Gore, McCarthy, McGovern, Muskie, Nelson, Ribicoff and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (3): Aiken, Saxbe and Smith.

The key ABM vote came on an additional amendment by Sen. Smith, which would have barred the Safeguard system but allowed other anti-missile funds. The amendment lost on a tie 50-to-50 vote, with Vice President Agnew casting the 51st vote. On the Cooper-Hart amendment, the vote was the same except that Mrs. Smith switched to vote against Cooper-Hart and thus preserved the Nixon victory. Following is that second rollcall; a "nay" vote supports the Administration:

FOR THE AMENDMENT: 50

DEMOCRATS (36): Bayh, Burdick, Cannon, Church, Cranston, Eagleton, Ellender, Fulbright, Gore, Gravel, Harris, Hart, Hartke, Hughes, Inouye, Kennedy, Magnuson, Mansfield, McCarthy, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Montoya, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Symington, Tydings, Williams (N.J.), Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (14): Aiken, Brooke, Case, Cook, Cooper, Goodell, Hatfield, Javits, Mathias, Pearson, Percy, Saxbe, Schweiker and Smith.

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT: 50

DEMOCRATS (21): Allen, Anderson, Bible, Byrd, (Va.), Byrd (W.Va.), Dodd, Eastland, Ervin, Holland, Hollings, Jackson, Jordan (N.C.), Long, McClellan, McGee, Pastore, Russell, Sparkman, Spong, Stennis and Talmadge.

REPUBLICANS (29): Allott, Baker, Bellmon, Bennett, Boggs, Cotton, Curtis, Dirksen, Dole, Dominick, Fannin, Fong, Goldwater, Griffin, Gurney, Hansen, Hruska, Jordan (Idaho), Miller, Mundt, Murphy, Packwood, Prouty, Scott, Stevens, Thurmond, Tower, Williams (Del.) and Young (N.D.).

Hasty Tax Reform Act

The House overwhelmingly passed the most comprehensive income tax reform bill in history last week, 394 to 30, but it now goes to the Senate where a fierce battle is expected both in the Finance Committee and on the floor. Committee consideration should begin as soon as Congress returns after Labor Day from its summer recess.

While House members appeared to find it irresistible—primarily because of the $9.2 billion in tax relief aimed primarily at low-income and middle-income Americans—the bill has come under severe criticism.

Many lawmakers—even those who voted for it—believe that the House acted in astonishing haste. Rep. Sam Gibbons, a liberal Florida Democrat, pointed to the defects of the way in which the legislation was handled in his minority report to the House Ways and Means Committee.

In addition to the secrecy surrounding the measure, said Gibbons, "there was, in my opinion, too much haste in the final deliberations to do justice to this most important piece of legislation. . . .

"Although there were extensive hearings commencing in February upon the general subject of federal tax reform, and although there have been periodic press releases from the committee concerning the general nature of the decisions tentatively agreed to by the committee, it was not until the 28th of July, six days before the writing of these views, that the committee had the first opportunity to view any of the more

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than 360 pages of this very complicated legislation. Moreover, the general public who must pay the taxes imposed by this legislation, has never had an opportunity to see this legislation, to examine it, to criticize it, or even to offer suggestions about this specific draft."

On the first day the committee had a chance to look through the legislation, claimed Gibbons, "we approved some 83 pages of this bill. In my opinion, this would be a near impossible feat for even the best informed. This same rapid pace without any opportunity for the committee to examine the language in advance was carried on for the remainder of the week. . . ."

Rep. James B. Utt (R.-Calif.) offered another stinging rebuke to those who favorably reported the Tax Reform Act out of the Ways and Means Committee. Said Utt:

"This tax reform bill follows past practices in enacting patchwork provisions to the code. . . . History shows that this approach adds untold additional pages to the Internal Revenue Code, greatly magnifying the complexity of existing provisions. The more complex the tax law becomes, the greater the number of inequities we face.

"It is time for the Congress to realize that true tax reform can only be achieved through simplification. Tax simplification can be achieved by a broadening of the base and a reduction of the rates. By achieving this goal, the incentive for evading taxes through a variety of sophisticated devices diminishes."

'Philadelphia Plan' Advances

Labor Secretary George Shultz has announced his department's intention to go ahead with its controversial "Philadelphia Plan," despite the opinion of many legal experts that the program violates the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This plan requires bidders on federal construction contracts to agree to make a "good faith effort" to employ a certain number of minority group workers. [See *Human Events*, July 26, 1969, page 5.]

SHULTZ

The plan was begun on an experimental basis in Philadelphia, where it is designed to increase minority employment on federal projects from 327 to 500. Other cities with local groups interested in the plan include Boston, Detroit and Los Angeles.

However, U.S. Comptroller General Elmer B. Staats, the government's ranking legal representative, contends that "the end result of the plan" is that "contractors commit themselves to making race or national origin a factor for consideration in obtaining their employes." Or, in effect, it establishes racial quotas in hiring.

And this, as Staats and several congressmen have noted, is in direct violation of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Transcripts of the debate on the act, cited by Staats, clearly show that even such liberals as then-Sen. Hubert Humphrey said at the time that the act could not be used to establish a quota system in hiring.

Secretary Shultz' only rebuttal was to say that Staats had no authority to say whether the "Philadelphia Plan" was legal or not. "The comptroller general is the agent of Congress," said Shultz, "not a part of the executive branch. His opinion was not solicited by the Labor Department."

Interestingly enough, the Labor Department had abided by the comptroller general's position when the "Philadelphia Plan" was first conceived and it was under immediate attack from Congress. Originally, the plan demanded outright that federal construction contractors hire so many minority employes. Staats concurred with Congress that such demands, made under the authority of an Executive Order with no foundation in law, were unconstitutional.

The department then added the "good faith effort" wording, attempting to soften the order. Even this was not good enough, according to the comptroller general.

Shultz maintains he has the full support of Atty. Gen. John Mitchell and President Nixon in his decision to proceed with Executive Order 11246, embodying the "Philadelphia Plan." But others note that Nixon has asked Shultz to hold up on the swearing-in of John Wilkes as head of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, the agency which would have to enforce the controversial plan.

If Shultz does go ahead, Congress can legislate to nullify the plan or a legal suit may be entered to prevent its application. Most Capitol Hill Republicans are somewhat embarrassed by the whole episode, seeing it as yet another Administration effort to accomplish a basically laudable goal, but in a naive, misdirected way.

"The over-all objective of the [Labor] Department's plan—the procurement of more jobs for members of minority groups—is certainly worthwhile and commendable," observes Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.). "The quota methods and other requirements incorporated by the plan, however, seek to remove inequities of one form only to replace them with others."

Tax-Paid School for Radicals

Beleagured taxpayers picked up the tab this summer for 15 student activists who spent six weeks lecturing educators on campus radicalism.

The student militants were paid $100 a week as part of a $63,000 "summer school" sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education. Thirty-five professors and deans from all parts of the country were brought to Claremont College—at taxpayer expense—so they could learn "what is happening" from the young rebels.

The session, officially called the "Institute on Student Involvement in Educational Policy," exposed the deans and professors to a love-in, simulated confrontations with black militants, and "mini-seminars" on drugs, sex, "radicalization of students" and the "functional implications" of obscenity.

The student instructors were the most "active, involved, irrelevant and articulate" ones that the OE could find. By the third week, according to participants, the students had "radicalized" the program. "We started acting instead of talking," said one staffer.

As one example, the educators themselves placed a full-page ad in a local paper protesting the suspension of a Los Angeles Valley College teacher who read an allegedly pornographic poem to her students.

Most educators agreed that they would return to their campuses considerably more sympathetic to the cause of the student rebels. "If there's anything we're all agreed on, it's that we don't want police on campus," said the chairman of the philosophy department at the University of North Dakota. "It makes the situation worse, not better."

Not everyone connected with the program was convinced of its worth, however. One of the student instructors, John Payton, a Black Student Union member from Pomona College, said that the professors and deans regarded the program as a cushy vacation.

"A lot of them said they came out here because they never were in California before," Payton said.

The funds for the Institute were approved by the Johnson Administration, but Dr. Paul Carnell, who handles similar projects for HEW for the present Administration, says he thinks the program was beneficial.

Communist Influence on SDS

Investigation by the House Committee on Internal Security has uncovered widespread Communist influence within the supposedly independent Students for a Democratic Society.

• While President Nixon has been beseeching Congress to hold down federal spending, the House last week added nearly $1.05 billion to The Nixon Administration's request for education funds. Nearly $900 million of this $1.05-billion figure resulted from the House's adoption of the Joelson amendment. To see how your congressman voted on the Joelson amendment, see page 15.

At Washington hearings last week, staff investigator Herbert Romerstein disclosed that identified Communists, frequently of middle age, had easy access to this summer's SDS national convention—despite the fact that reporters and others in the over-30 crowd were barred.

Romerstein revealed that when SDS National Secretary Michael Klonsky rented the Chicago Colosseum for the convention, he was accompanied by Jack Spiegel, a veteran leftist identified as a CP member before Congress.

Among those addressing the convention was John Rossen, another radical identified as a Communist in congressional testimony. Rossen owns the building in which the SDS national headquarters are located.

The committee also heard a former FBI undercover agent, Gerald Kirk, spell out Communist infiltration of SDS. Kirk testified that while an SDS member, he was approached by a Communist party organizer who "suggested" that he join the party-controlled W.E.B. DuBois Clubs.

Kirk, a Negro, proved ideologically acceptable, became a DuBois Club leader and was invited to join the party. According to him, the Communists are actively seeking to expand their student base and are focusing on SDS as the most important left-wing student group.

CP members hold seminars, informal talk sessions, and run summer camps to educate SDS leaders in Communist theory and tactics, said Kirk. They seek to engage in joint activities with SDS both to widen their contacts among non-Marxist student radicals and to influence these students so that they will eventually embrace communism.

Kirk told of a secret meeting of the party where each regional district was assigned a specific number of new members to be recruited by a certain date. Almost all of these people were recruited from SDS.

Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio) asked Kirk if he felt there would be more campus disturbances this fall. Kirk was emphatic: "Absolutely. There will be much more. . .people have been planning all summer." He explained that CP and SDS organizers tend to build on what they have, biding their time until they find an excuse for another confrontation.

Kirk gave an example of the single-mindedness of the radical mentality. After conceding that the University of Chicago administration had won a particular confrontation by ignoring the student occupation of the Administration building, not calling the police and, after two weeks, letting peer pressure drive the radicals out, he said that SDS organizers could think of little else than the next confrontation at Chicago and how to provoke the Administration into using violence. People who are involved in losing peaceful demonstrations tend to have fewer compunctions about using violence the next time, Kirk declared. He even named several SDS and CP student leaders who spoke of buying guns and advocated armed insurrection to their followers.

REPRINTS AVAILABLE

"The Alchemists in Our Public Schools" by Roger A. Freeman, an article which appeared in the July 26 issue of **Human Events**, is now available as a reprint. Prices: 35¢ each; 10 for $3; 50 for $12.50; 100 for $25; 500 for $100. Also available is the two-page article by Al Capp, **"Harvard's Tragedy: Too Arrogant . . . Then Too Cowardly."** Single copies 30¢; 10 for $2.50; 50 for $10; 100 for $15.

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What Can Be Done About The CBS-NBC News Bias?

By ALICE WIDENER

The bias against President Nixon in television news reporting over the two major networks, CBS and NBC, grows more flagrant each day. It seems that whenever our President goes anywhere or says anything, CBS and NBC immediately follow their reports on his activities and pronouncements with a triple or quadruple barrage of adverse criticism from the CBS-NBC clique of ultra-liberal pets on Capitol Hill—Democratic Senators J. William Fulbright, Frank Church, George McGovern and Edmund Muskie.

If CBS and NBC give prime news time to Republican comment, it is awarded to ultra-liberal Senators Jacob K. Javits, Clifford Case, George D. Aiken and J. Sherman Cooper. Banned from CBS-NBC screens, evidently, are such experienced and longtime public servants as Senators Richard Russell, John L. McClellan, John G. Tower, Barry Goldwater, Karl E. Mundt, John Williams, Wallace F. Bennett, Carl T. Curtis, Roman L. Hruska and Warren G. Magnuson.

A specific example of flagrant bias on the part of NBC, warranting an FCC investigation in my opinion, occurred on the July 30 six o'clock evening news account of President Nixon's successful visit to Saigon and to American troops of the 1st Infantry Division at Dian, Viet Nam, where he praised our GIs' heroism and sacrifice in a difficult war as "one of America's finest hours." Immediately after televising President Nixon's remarks NBC aired the highly critical comments of anti-Nixon, ultra-liberal Democratic Senators Albert Gore, Frank Church and Edmund Muskie.

This stacked the editorial comment on a 3-to-1 basis against our President. Not a single Republican or even a less "ultra" Democrat was called on for expression of opinion about President Nixon's remarks and Viet Nam visit.

What do CBS and NBC want to do? Be even more unfair to President Nixon on the subject of Viet Nam and matters of national defense, such as the ABM issue, than they, CBS and NBC, were to President Johnson? In the political opinion of CBS and NBC, are ultra-liberals among United States senators the only ones whose opinions are worth hearing? Are they the only ones immune from the verbal stilettos of Dan Rather, Marvin Kalb, Huntley-Brinkley and Elie Abel?

Recently, neither CBS nor NBC offered the public any kind of in-depth reporting on the Ted Kennedy affair and NBC immediately rallied its own clique of ultra-liberal newscasters to comment on it. Only Channel 5 in New York City, a Metromedia station, did a thorough on-scene review of the Kennedy accident which, had it happened to any one of CBS' and NBC's pet hate targets, for example, Sen. Barry Goldwater or Sen. Strom Thurmond, would probably have been described for what it really was, a major scandal due to the Kennedy-Gargan-Markham indefensible behavior.

News reporting by the principal organs of the Eastern liberal press, the New York *Times* and Washington *Post*, though often slanted to left-of-center, is a model of objectivity when compared with news reporting by CBS and NBC. It appears they are trying to do to Richard M. Nixon what they helped do to Lyndon B. Johnson: force the President of the United States into what triumphant leftist radicals describe as "abdication."

Every American with an ounce of fairness knows that Sen. Kennedy's "mea culpa" July 1969 broadcast involving a ghost-written apologia for inexplicable abandonment to death by drowning of a young woman was in no way comparable to vice presidential candidate Nixon's "Checkers" speech in 1952 concerning allegations involving campaign fund contributions of only a few thousand dollars, a speech that entirely satisfied not only Dwight D. Eisenhower but also the public except for a few professional Nixon haters. Yet immediately after Ted Kennedy's broadcast, NBC's clique of commentators rushed into an attempted Kennedy political rescue operation by comparing the two speeches.

As things stand today, the ethical news standards of the nation's daily newspapers far surpass those of the two major broadcasting networks, whose abuse of power ought to be scrutinized by the Federal Communications Commission and by the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice. If that abuse continues, it may be that nobody but a CBS-NBC ultra-liberal pet can be a successful and fairly treated President of the United States.

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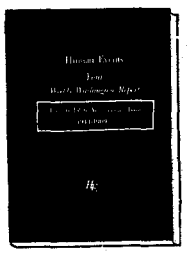

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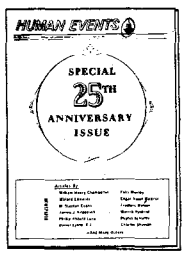

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CORRECTION

Due to an error in the *Congressional Record,* the article "Population Explosion Problems" which appeared on page 15 of our August 2 issue was incorrectly credited to Rep. Leslie Arends (R.-Ill.). The author was actually Rep. John Rhodes (R.-Ariz.).

President Nixon returns from his round-the-world tour and greets Sen. Ted Kennedy among well-wishers at Andrews Air Force Base, Md. One result of the trip has been an Administration reassessment of U.S. global commitments.

Nixon's 'Do-It-Yourself' Policy

No expanded U.S. commitments on tour

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

President Nixon returns from abroad with no expanded U.S. commitments, blessings be. The reason represents a fundamental change in American foreign policy. You might call it a Do-It-Yourself doctrine toward other countries.

This writer can report that the President feels, as a matter of deepest conviction, that exaggerated internationalism is just as foolhardy and dangerous as narrow isolationism.

Before Mr. Nixon left on this trip, Secretary of State William P. Rogers showed him a top-secret, green-covered book he had obtained from the Pentagon. The book required 712 pages merely to list our overseas bases and installations where we maintain American troops.

Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird confirmed that we have spent nearly $5 billion a year to operate these and that almost half these billions are a balance-of-payments drain in our gold crisis. Yet only about 200 of these bases are officially listed as vital in the top secret book, even assuming the maintenance of five divisions in Europe to live up to our NATO commitment.

Mr. Nixon and Mr. Rogers found that the total commitments of the United States add up to 42 treaties and involve our military presence in an appalling 38 countries.

For years on end we have poured our taxpayers' billions into window-dressing defense treaties that were utterly powerless to frighten or restrain the enemy. Some are long since dead—such as the Inter-American Treaty of 1947—and others are obviously worthless because the signatures we lined up to sign them do not support them. Others are as dangerous as a camel's kiss.

Many of our foreign policy failures arose from a confusion—that is, that a crusading spirit is a substitute for a foreign policy. And merely translating a crusading spirit onto frail and ambiguous treaties, promoted on a public relations basis to show "a united front," means absolutely nothing. So does the money and trained personnel we pour into them.

Japanese reluctance to support our largely inoperative SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) treaty of 1954 stems from our doubtful attempt to link it with ANZUS, the Australian-New Zealand-U.S. security pact operative in Viet Nam. Yet we have poured more and more money into the old SEATO setup just the same.

In fact, old treaties never died; we just spent and spent.

The NATO pact was signed in 1949. Inside France our NATO investment loss when President de Gaulle threw us out exceeded $2.5 billion. His action vastly weakened our protection of France. But we are still obligated to come to the aid of France under the Brussels Treaty of March 17, 1948, which formed the Western European Alliance, NATO's, predecessor.

About 300,000 of NATO's armed men are Americans. And Secretary Laird estimates that it costs $7,265 a year to keep one fighting man in Western Europe. That's $2.2 billion a year in the U.S. budget, plus a Mt. Everest of extras.

How far can we feasibly go in keeping such large ground forces in Europe when the real deterrent is our atomic stance and most of our ground forces are there largely to sustain European morale?

The question is not the potential value of NATO, for NATO is indispensable. The issue under the new Nixon Do-It-Yourself doctrine involves the real effectiveness of such disproportionately large U.S. ground forces if our allies fail to supply equivalent ground forces of their own.

When foreign policies fall apart, or conditions change, it is easier to blame the difficulties than to confess the current invalidity, the unworkableness, and even the dangers, in a course long followed. But the purpose of statesmanship is results, not the construction of basketfuls of paper-tiger treaties, the sustaining of expensive, flimsy facades, or the encouragement of wishful thinking in the American public.

Behind the scenes, President Nixon and Secretary Rogers made up their minds before they left that this kind of thing is about as valuable as a plaster cast on a wooden leg. That was the underlying meaning of Mr. Nixon's first announcement on the trip spoken in Manila.

The United States will no longer play into the Soviets' hands by overextending itself. The day of promoting paper-tiger treaties that are a one-way street is over.

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Still No Action on OEO's Future

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), which administers the deeply troubled multi-billion-dollar anti-poverty program, is still bumblingly in business, thanks to a temporary continuing resolution voted by Congress, but a strange lethargy has developed on what should be done about this agency—if anything.

At both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue there is no sign of interest or activity regarding the future of OEO. The Administration is doing nothing, and neither is Congress.

This apathy is as curious as it is extraordinary.

OEO's proposed new budget is $2.18 billion—although Congress granted only $1.79 billion last year. The agency employs thousands, and its operations directly affect hundreds of thousands of others throughout the country. New OEO Administrator Donald Rumsfeld gave up a safe House seat to take charge of its widely controversial and scandal-scarred activities.

Yet, astonishingly, literally nothing is being done by the Administration or Congress about renewing the Economic Opportunity Act—which created OEO and its anti-poverty programs. The law expired June 30.

Following is this inexplicable record of indifference:

• The White House still has sent no bill to Congress, and there is no indication it intends to do so. Apparently the initiative is being left to Congress.

• Two bills are pending before the House Education and Labor Committee. One, offered by Rep. Carl Perkins (D.-Ky.), chairman, would continue the act for five years. The other, sponsored by Rep. William Ayres, of Ohio, ranking Republican on the committee, and Perkins would renew it for two years. The general assumption is that this bipartisan measure is favored by the Administration.

• The House committee has had four months of hearings—with hundreds of witnesses filling four large printed volumes of testimony at a cost of several hundred thousand dollars. But there is no sign of the committee doing anything further. Presumably it will eventually get down to drafting legislation. But when is anyone's guess.

• Whether that will be before the mid-August recess (until after Labor Day) or later, no one knows—nor gives any evidence of caring. The Administration isn't pressing for action; Perkins is saying and doing nothing, and neither is anyone else.

• In the Senate there is even less interest—if possible. Hearings haven't even been held over there, and there are no plans for any. Senate leaders, when asked about the matter, shrug and say, "We're waiting until the House acts, then we'll proceed."

The same amazing nonchalance prevails in OEO.

Administrator Rumsfeld has been in office several months, but has yet to do anything about restoring his severely decimated staff. Some 30 top offices are still unfilled, and when they will be is known only to Rumsfeld—if he knows!

The only thing he has done so far is to set up what is called a "Director's Task Force" to make a "complete review of the 'War on Poverty.'"

This is the latest of a long and costly list of such studies in the five-year history of OEO. There have been scores of surveys and analyses totaling more than $30 million.

According to Rumsfeld's announcement, his Task Force is "staffed entirely by experts from outside OEO." But a check of these authorities discloses that most of them are former OEO officials. Every top member of this group previously held a high-paid OEO job.

Outside of urging that Congress give OEO a $2.18-billion budget, Rumsfeld's only other recommendation has been that the Economic Opportunity Act be continued unchanged. This drew caustic hoots of derision from both Republicans and Democrats.

Rep. William Scherle (R.-Iowa) sharply retorted, "There is urgent need for extensive changes in the multi-billion-dollar-a-year boondoggle called OEO. I am going to do my utmost to see that that's done."

Rep. Edith Green, of Oregon, second-ranking Democrat on the House Education and Labor Committee, told Rumsfeld, "You've got to be kidding. You can't mean that seriously. You'll be lucky if you get a one-year renewal with a complete overhaul."

But so far, there is no sign of anything stirring.

★ ★ ★

There is one glaring hiatus in the tense Senate battle over the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system.

There is the total absence and silence of Sen. Eugene McCarthy—the Minnesota "peacenik" who one year ago was furiously running for the Democratic presidential nomination with clangorous denunciations of the Viet Nam war, the "military industrial complex" and related matters.

But throughout the weeks of the torrid ABM battle—the most momentous of this session so far—McCarthy has been conspicuous by his non-attendance.

Not only has he taken no part in the eventful debate, but he has given no sign of the slightest concern about its outcome. Anti-ABM leaders claim they have assurances that when they need him, he will show up and vote with them.

If that is so, it's McCarthy's only contribution to the "cause" he so fervently avowed only a few months ago.

His bland disregard of the ABM struggle is squarely in keeping with his attitude on all other issues this session. Nonchalant indifference has been his course since this Congress got under way January 3.

To all intents and purposes, McCarthy has largely been on leave of absence. This is the second successive year he has done that.

Last year, out of 339 record votes in the Senate, covering a wide range of domestic and foreign issues, McCarthy was present for only 12. The rest of the time he kept busy running for President, vacationing on the French Riviera as the guest of a multi-millionaire New York investment banker, covering the World Series for a magazine for $5,000, and scampering about the country lecturing for fancy fees, orating at fund-raising dinners and peacenik rallies, and spouting poetry at "readings."

This self-bestowed sabbatical year cost taxpayers more than $350,000 in salary and his numerous senatorial perquisites and allowances. These include $212,000 for clerical hire; a fully equipped suite of offices as well as an office in his home state; six round trips to Minnesota; $3,000 stationery and printing allowance; 200 long-distance telephone calls, $2,200 local telephone allowance; unlimited franking (free mail) privilege.

McCarthy's voting record this year is somewhat better than last. On most major issues he has shown up for the decisive rollcall ballots. He was notably present to vote for the $12,500 increase in pay.

But he has completely ignored the Senate's debates and deliberations.

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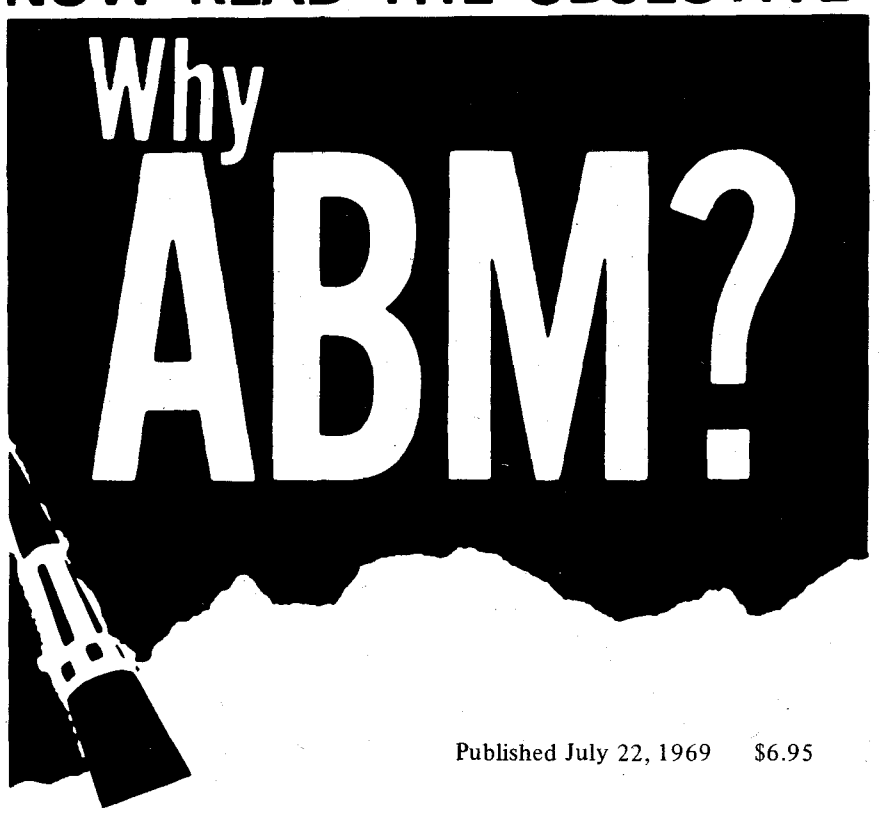
FEDERAL BUREAUCRATS are getting richer and richer. The non-partisan Tax Foundation reports that federal workers have received nine pay hikes in the past nine years and that their salaries have risen 47 per cent since 1962. The government's civilian payroll now totals $30 billion, with approximately $6 billion of that doled out in Washington.

YOU'VE HEARD THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST ABM! NOW READ THE OBJECTIVE STUDY



Published July 22, 1969 $6.95

Edited by **JOHAN J. HOLST & WILLIAM SCHNEIDER, JR.**
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This pro-ABM book gives you a factual, step-by-step account of **WHY** and **HOW** an ABM system would work. It presents factual arguments against the idea that such a system would be detrimental to U.S.—Soviet relations and that, in its deployment, the Soviet Union would hasten to build up its offensive weapons.

CLEARLY EXPLORES VITAL QUESTIONS

These 13 "white papers" prepared by nine staff and fellow members of the Hudson Institute, clearly explores such vital questions as:

- Would such a system help or hinder efforts for an arms control agreement?
- Would it work as advertised and what effect would it have on the strategic policies of Russia and Communist China?
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'The Emerging Republican Majority': An Interview With Author Kevin Phillips

One of the hottest-selling books in the Nation's Capital right now is **The Emerging Republican Majority** by Kevin P. Phillips (Arlington House, New Rochelle, N.Y., $7.95). Since the book points to a Republican party that will look toward the South and the Heartland for its strength, rather than to the more liberal Northeast, it is of interest to all conservatives. In the following interview with **Human Events**, Mr. Phillips briefly outlines his thesis, an argument he supports with thorough documentation in his book.

Mr. Phillips, what was your role in the Nixon campaign?

I served as special assistant to John Mitchell, the Nixon organization's national campaign manager, essentially furnishing input on voting data, trends, historical patterns and political analyses.

Do you feel the President based his campaign strategy on the thesis that you outline in 'The Emerging Republican Majority'?

I think the thesis that was outlined—and I outlined this two years ago—was becoming apparent. Perhaps some of the research input that I furnished during the campaign reinforced this thesis and strategic approach, but I certainly wouldn't want to claim any formulation of it.

What in brief is your general thesis?

In essence I'd say that I project a new cycle of American politics which will match a dominant Republican party based in the Heartland, the South and California against a minority Democratic party based in the Northeast and the Pacific Northwest coast and probably encompassing most of the national Negro electorate.

Now with these areas of principal strength the Republican party is likely to win nationally most of the time, even though it may well lose some of the Northeastern industrial states that the President lost this time: Massachusetts, New York, Michigan. I suspect those states—together with the District of Columbia and the other major Humphrey states like Hawaii, Washington, Minnesota, West Virginia, Rhode Island and Maine—may well be the states the Democrats carry more often than not in presidential contests.

What groups will comprise the new Republican majority? What will be the common threads—ideological, ethnic and social—that hold it together?

On an ideological basis, I would say that essentially you're going to run the gamut from conservative to middle-of-the-road, but the predominant tilt that would appear would be moderate-conservative.

As far as the sociological spectrum the GOP groups encompass is concerned, I suspect that it will be very substantially a lower-middle-class and middle-class electorate, a rural, small-town and suburban electorate.

The ethnic character would vary from state to state. You can have situations as you have in New York City, where the Irish and the Italians are very substantially Republican and trending in that direction and by the time you get up to Rhode Island, the Irish and Italian groups are still substantially Democratic. So it's hard to generalize there.

How about labor union members? Will they be part of this new majority?

I think essentially what you have now is that a very substantial part of what used to be called the working class or blue-collar group has become lower-middle-class, for all practical purposes, in its political and socio-economic value judgments. And this group is moving very strongly, I think, towards a conservative stance and, in many areas, towards a Republican stance. I expect this trend will continue and will assist the Republicans in becoming a majority and that this electorate will grow into a continually larger Republican constituency.

What do you mean by conservative? In other words, what is really generating this new majority? Is it economic conservatism, social conservatism, anti-communism, just what?

I don't think it's conservatism in the old sense. In other words, I don't think it's any kind of classical conservatism. It's not conservatism of the landed aristocracy or even a financial aristocracy. It's not economic conservatism. And I don't think it's any particularized staunch anti-communism, although this entire constituency is anti-Communist.

Instead, what you have here is a social conservatism, I think, in the sense that the role of government in taxing the many for the benefit of the few—whether they be rich or poor—has gone too far. You've got a resentment of the expanding role of government in everyday life, a resentment of the attempts of certain aspects of the liberal community to make government into an all-powerful social planning establishment and regulatory body. I think that's what's engendering a resentment.

In your book you make a number of controversial statements, but few have aroused more anger within the liberal wing of the Republican party than this one: "One of the greatest political myths of the decade—a product of liberal self-interest—is that the Republican party cannot attain national dominance without mobilizing liberal support in the big cities, appealing to 'liberal' youth, empathizing with 'liberal' urbanization, gaining substantial support and courting the affluent young professional classes of 'suburbia'." Could you elaborate on this?

Well, let's take these one by one. The first thing is mobilizing liberal support in the big cities. Of enormous importance here is the fact that the big cities are steadily losing voting power. The other facet is that a major segment of the urban electorate is turning quite conservative and, in all likelihood, the need to mobilize liberal support in the cities is probably diminishing.

As far as appealing to liberal youth is concerned, we have to remember that the young electorate, the electorate under 25, only cast 7.4 per cent of the vote in the last presidential election. I think it's also a mistake to say that youth is necessarily so liberal. It's true of the affluent progeny of the Establishment, but it seems to be much less true of Southern, Western, border and working-class young people. Also, I think that as the young electorate becomes an actual electorate; that is, gets above and beyond just passing the strict legal voting age and actually puts down roots and starts voting in a locality, its members will have developed a different set of attitudes from those they might have had on campus. It's those campus attitudes, of course, that have been the source of the idea "liberal youth."

As far as the support of Negroes is concerned, it seems to me based on a study of past voting patterns that the Republican party can usually expect to win something around 20 to 25 per cent of the Negro vote in presidential elections. Elections where it exceeds this are few and far between. And here again you have the question of increasing a small share of a relatively small section of the national electorate. It probably isn't particularly crucial for a presidential election whether you have 18 per cent or whether you have 24 per cent.

But more important than this perhaps is the fact that Negroes seem to be using the Democratic party the way the Irish used it in the last century—as a vehicle of cohesive political advancement. To this extent they seem likely to concentrate in the Democratic party and make it very hard to get a substantial percentage of Negroes to support Republican candidates. It has even been true in New York, where liberal Republicans can't win more than a quarter of the Negro vote on the Republican ticket.

As for the affluent young professional classes of suburbia, this is only one facet of suburbia, mainly concentrated

ROLAND L. FREEMAN

Author Kevin Phillips, now an aide to John Mitchell at the Justice Department, was a Phi Beta Kappa graduate from Colgate and received his LL.B from Harvard Law School.

in "silk stocking" suburban constituencies like Scarsdale, Philadelphia's Main Line, Wellesley, Mass., or some of the other bedroom communities around New York. These are the areas that supported Eugene McCarthy. They have an affluent intelligentsia, people whose vocational interests are rooted in liberal programs, everything from urbanology to foundations to educational consultation. And this particular group, while it is quite influential, is not terribly large in its electoral influence. The far more important segments of suburbia are the fast-growing middle-class and lower-middle-class, often blue-collar, suburbs. These are where suburban growth is concentrated in the United States. These are the huge suburban areas that are turning the United States into a suburban nation and this is where the Republican future is very bright.

This is why I think that all of these aspects of the myth are really just that.

Regarding the cities, wouldn't the recent mayoralty elections in Los Angeles, Minneapolis and New York suggest that there really is a strong-seated conservatism in the cities?

Yes, I think it certainly does. I think it makes it quite obvious that a large portion of the old New Deal electorate, the people who were economic liberals or who supported the economic Populism of the New Deal, find that the programs of the welfare Liberal Establishment are anathema to them and they are supporting more conservative candidates as a result. And this is having a major effect on urban voting patterns.

But in your earlier answer you said you didn't expect the Republican party to concentrate on these cities. Why not? Wouldn't there be a lot of support there for Republicans?

Yes, there would be, but I'm saying those areas aren't nearly so crucial as they used to be. They have, in the last decade, cast a steadily declining number of votes. From a purely strategic point of view their power position is less and less. As far as the Republican party's potential in these areas is concerned, I think that what we've just discussed, the phenomenon of the rising conservatism of the blue-collar and lower-middle-class electorate, is one that bespeaks considerable opportunities for the Republican party, but more often in the suburbs than the big cities.

Is it true that urbanization in certain parts of the country is a major asset to the Republicans, for example, the new cities that people are talking about?

Yes, the new cities of the Sun Belt, ranging from Charleston, Tallahassee, Jacksonville and Atlanta in the East all the way over to Orange County and San Diego and the great new "Boom Corridor" of Southern California. All these fast-growing, very substantially middle-class cities are linked to defense industries, retirement resort areas, oil country and so forth. These are booming bastions of urban, essentially semi-suburban, Republicanism. And this is the new urbanization in the United States, not the old central cities. This is an entirely new wave of urban development. This wave is very favorable to the Republican party and it has been a major cause of developing Republican majorities in Florida, Texas, Arizona and California. Those Republicans representing these areas, by the way, are not liberals, but strong conservatives, such as Ronald Reagan, Barry Goldwater, Ed Gurney and John Tower, the vanguard of the "new conservative sun politics."

From a parochial, Northeastern viewpoint, it is easy to dismiss the sun country, but the statistics and projections of the Census Bureau affirm that migration within the United States is rapidly

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dismantling the hegemony of the older urban areas of the nation in favor of the booming cities of the South and Southwest. The electoral votes of the Sun Belt will have almost tripled in the half-century between 1920 and 1970, outstripping the declining urban Northeast in the process.

This point can be demonstrated within the boundaries of California. No West Coast city is more liberal than anarchic and academic Berkeley, which massively opposed both Goldwater and Reagan. Yet Berkeley is one of the handful of California cities which actually lost population between 1950 and 1960. In booming Southern California is suburban Anaheim, which went 2 to 1 for Goldwater and 3 to 1 for Reagan. As Berkeley's population was declining, Anaheim's increased sevenfold. At mid-century, Berkeley was eight times the size of Anaheim, but now Anaheim is almost twice as big. Similar changes have occurred from Miami to Monterey.

Why do you figure that these new cities produce Republicans, whereas the old cities tend to produce Democratic votes?

Well, in the old cities one of the principal reasons, of course, is a very substantial Negro vote which is overwhelmingly Democratic. Also, the pattern of the old cities was one of blue-collar and lower-middle-class strength and while you've got a substantial Republican trend there, nevertheless, together with the overwhelmingly Democratic voting pattern of the Negro electorate, you still have very substantial Democratic strength in these old cities. The new cities are very middle-class in character and they also have a very small non-white population, relatively at least. This isn't true of Atlanta and a few others, but basically the new cities are middle-class, fairly affluent and white.

Why do you feel the "Heartland," as you call it, will be part of a new, Republican majority?

As I point out in my book, the presidential voting returns in the 1968 elections suggest that the Heartland—which includes every state without a coastline or seaport, save Vermont, and reaches from the Appalachians to the Rocky Mountains—has abandoned the Civil War-ingrained loyalties that divided along the Mason-Dixon Line. Because tradition no longer keeps the Arkansas, Kentucky and New Mexico countryside Democratic, while the Dakota, Kansas and Michigan countryside is Republican, the vast American interior is drawn together as the seat of a conservative majority. The 25 states that comprise the Heartland cast 223 of the 270 electoral votes needed to elect a President of the United States. Whereas Nixon carried only 17 of these in 1960, in 1968 he carried 21.

When Lyndon Johnson was President, the forces shaping the Heartland were based on rejection of the "Great Society" programs, but the area also possesses a positive affinity for the Republican party's conservatively oriented philosophy. Beyond opposition to urban welfarism, the Heartland states share a considerable interest in agriculture, have a bias toward the Protestant ethic and possess a distrust of the Northeast Liberal Establishment.

Richard Nixon received about 43 per cent of the popular vote in the last election. Third-party candidate George Wallace received about 14 per cent. You suggest that the GOP will have to tap this 14 per cent to fashion a clear majority, but what makes you think the Wallaceites, most of them Democrats, will come over to the Republican side?

The key thing about the Wallace voters of 1968 is how they concentrated among voting strains and within areas which showed a substantial Republican trend either in 1960 or 1964. You can see that by and large on a county basis in most states the support for Wallace correlates with areas that have been showing a good Republican trend.

Take a typical state like Ohio. You find the Wallace vote was concentrated in two sections of the state. One is the old southern, central part of Ohio which is attuned to the South and the other is the Cleveland industrial area. And the Wallace vote came from among the conservative groups, basically Catholics in and around Cleveland and the Southern-oriented Protestants principally down in the southern part of Ohio. Both of these groups in recent elections have been showing a strong Republican trend.

This is pretty much true all across the country. If you trace it out by voting patterns, the Wallace electorate seems to be only that portion of the Democratic electorate which can be identified—from voting patterns and for other reasons—as being between the Democratic past and the Republican future. Third parties have almost always served as way stations between the parties, and these Wallace voters seem definitely to be in a transitional phase.

Many politicians insist that Wallace helped Nixon in the last election by drawing off votes from Humphrey, but you write that his "vote divergence certainly did not help Richard Nixon. On the contrary, Wallace split the conservative electorate, siphoned off a flow of ballots that otherwise would have gone heavily for Nixon and garnered many of his backers, Northern or Southern, blue collar or white collar, from the ranks of supporters of 1964 presidential nominee Barry Goldwater." On what do you base this assertion?

In the first place, of the states Wallace carried, four of them had been among the six to vote for Goldwater in 1964. Obviously much of the Wallace electorate there, and beyond those states as well, was a Goldwater electorate. And to that extent it came from voters who had been in a Republican voting pattern.

But you can go beyond this and you can look at areas that were showing a trend to the Republicans in 1960 that was quite sharp and then rolling up a heavy Wallace vote in 1968. The indication is that an awful lot of these voters, although Democrats by party identification, were exactly the segment of the Democratic electorate that is in the process of breaking away.

What will the present Administration have to do to appeal to the Wallaceites? Will it have to abandon desegregation goals or scrap civil rights laws as some liberals are trying to suggest?

Oh, I don't think that anybody suggesting that course really expects it's even under consideration. It certainly isn't. The civil rights laws will undoubtedly be fully enforced by the Nixon Administration.

What you have in the works politically is a deterioration of Democratic tradition among people, often very conservative people, whose loyalty to the Democratic party is based on old Democratic party cultural, regional and ethnic loyalties. And as those deteriorate and fall apart, their cohesion starts transferring itself to the GOP. Mainly because there are many aspects of the Republican party, whether in foreign policy or social policy or economic policy, that are more appealing to these people once their old traditional loyalties become to them obsolescent and no longer purposeful. And to this extent you have a major segment of the electorate Democrats disenchanted with their party who trended away via George Wallace and presumably will be shifting in some quantity to the Republican party, especially if you have a successful Nixon Administration. I would consider as very ill-advised any policy that would reflect any overt bid for the so-called Wallace electorate on the grounds you specified. I don't see that in the cards at all.

Do you look for a big change in party registration below the Mason-Dixon Line? Do you feel, for example, that many Southern Democrats will "pull a Thurmond" in effect and become Republicans?

I think that's a very substantial possibility, both among office holders and among ordinary registered Democrats. When you have a one-party set-up in a state, it tends to keep registration in the other party abnormally low. I think now, however, you'll see there will be a very, very substantial change all across the South in the next decade.

Your message to Republicans is being heavily criticized for seeming to say "forget about the Negro." Aside from the assertion that liberal Republicans do not get many more votes than conservative Republicans, you also point out that "Negro Democratic mutual identification was a major source of Democratic loss and Republican or American Independent party profit in many sections of the country." Your book furthermore underscores the fact that below the Mason-Dixon Line four-fifths of the white vote went for either Nixon or Wallace. Aren't you saying in effect that your emerging Republican majority depends an an anti-black backlash?

No, I think again that's a misreading of what is involved here. You have to remember that for almost a century the Democratic party was principally based in the South as a result of Civil War loyalties. The loyalties of these people down there were predicated very substantially on the Civil War tradition of the Democratic party serving as a vehicle for the South. Now to the extent that the Democratic party has become more a creature of the Northeastern Establishment and central cities—and this includes the Negro population—it has lost its old traditional appeal down South. The loyalties on the part of the Southerners and many other traditional Democrats have eroded.

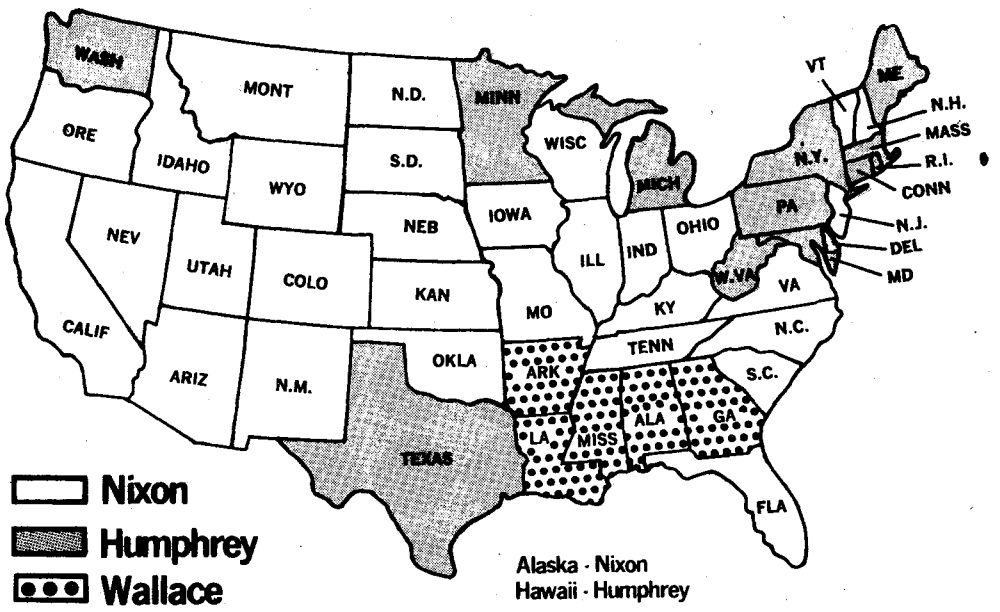
It doesn't take and it shouldn't be interpreted as calling for any kind of "color-only" appeal. The Democrats simply have the problem that their image, the old traditional image they had, is falling apart on them and it was that image that gave them their very overwhelming supremacy in the South.

While you say that the Negroes seem to be predominantly Democratic, is there any chance other minority groups such as the Puerto Ricans, the Mexican-Americans or the Chinese-Americans will come over to the Republican party?

Definitely. As a matter of fact, the evidence in 1968 indicates that President Nixon received 20 to 30 per cent support across most of the nation from the Mexican-American community and substantially the same from the Puerto Rican community in and around New York City where it's principally concentrated. There's also a very strong pattern of support for the Republicans from

Continued on page 14

For Reference: The 1968 Presidential Vote



How Conservative Areas Are Gaining Strength

THE ELECTORAL VOTE BY SECTIONS

State	1928	1932	1948	1956	1964	1972*
Maine	6	5	5	5	4	4
Massachusetts	18	17	16	16	14	14
New York	45	47	45	43	41	40
Pennsylvania	38	36	35	32	29	27
Northeastern Group Total	107	105	101	96	88	85
Arizona	3	3	4	4	5	6
Texas	20	23	23	24	25	26
Florida	6	7	8	10	14	16
California	13	23	25	32	40	46
Sun Belt Group Total	42	56	60	70	84	94

Chart reprinted from 'The Emerging Republican Majority.'

*Census Projection

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Will Student Majority Stand Firm Against Violent Few?

by GOV. RONALD REAGAN

Those discussing the latest violent disruption of some American college campuses so often say these days, "I sympathize with their goals, but I disapprove of their methods." Even a number of leaders in education and in government have said essentially this.

Those who make this statement are victims of a most basic error in understanding, and this error is one which itself leads to further confusion.

How so? Most simply, a single interpretation of cause and effect has been attached, without even the most elementary analysis, to two quite different groups. There are the students, and there are the revolutionaries. The students are many, and the revolutionaries are few.

The students have little voice, and the revolutionaries receive press coverage beyond that given to any group of comparable size in United States history. The students even suffer from faculty neglect, while the revolutionaries are made, by the American press and by some faculty members, folk heroes.

Eldridge Cleaver, for example, in mid-July 1969, was given hours of radio time and column after column of newsprint when it is suspected (or when it has become convenient to suspect) that he is homesick! A felon, an admitted rapist, a fugitive from justice, and one who has turned against his own country—a folk hero.

Revolutionaries work at issues to confuse normal leaders of our institutions and to produce what is called, in liberal parlance, "confrontations"—violent impasses between those representing a cultured and orderly society and those who would destroy it.

Issues are developed which will have a certain attractiveness to idealists who are naive as to the true goals of the revolutionaries. So-called "Free Speech" and the "People's Park" represent such issues. Mario Savio in regard to "Free Speech" and Arthur Goldberg [not the ambassador—Ed.] in regard to "People's Park" openly and in print boasted that these so-called issues were contrived for the purpose of establishing an army of supporters.

The basic goals, then, of the revolutionaries have to do with the destruction of the established order, and, by revolutionary methods, to put themselves in power. The "issues" are contrived—they tell us so in speech and leaflet. But their methods are clever, violent and barbarian. Clearly, our society cannot agree with either their goals or with their methods.

On the other hand, there are those

California Gov. Reagan says that students have legitimate complaints about the impersonal atmosphere of many large universities.

students—who number in the millions—who do have grievances. Their grievances are real. They are grievances which lead to our concern and to our support as well.

These grievances include faculty neglect, large and impersonal classes, unmet office hours, an excessive priority for research and writing on university campuses, and almost an antipathy to undergraduate students. Too often clerks and other employes imitate faculty attitudes and lord it over the students. We hear of endless lines during registration; we learn of windows closed in the face of students who had been standing in line for many hours simply because it was 12 noon and time for lunch.

Our students are young and have spirit. Their personalities do not prosper from the sheer anonymity of the large institution. Administrators and faculty must begin—to a much greater extent—to address themselves to the challenge of personalizing the college experience of our young people.

There are answers to faculty neglect. There are answers to the symbolic IBM card and to the blank diploma at graduation. There is an answer to the frustration that the normal student feels as he observes the inordinate attention given the squeaky wheels on the campus—the agitators—in such marked contrast to the indifference that he himself experiences.

Yes, we have sympathy for the goal of these students. But the normal student is doing essentially nothing about his plight. He has yet to be heard from, and in many cases it is doubtful that he really understands his dilemma.

When asked in a recent study what they would change in society, let alone on their campus, a surprising number of students—almost one-half—indicated they would change nothing. But there is reason to believe that there is sufficient frustration among the great mass of students so that, when they are given an excuse to express their anger and to escape their isolation, they will do so.

Too often the illegitimate causes of the agitators have provided the excuse for the others. Too often some of our normal students have become engaged in destructive methods. There is growing evidence that, with the passage of time, more normal students are becoming vulnerable to the persuasiveness of the revolutionary.

When I spoke this June to the members of the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, I said:

"Young men and women go to college to find themselves as individuals. They see the names of distinguished scholars in the catalogue and sign for courses with the belief they will learn and grow and be stimulated by contact with these men. But all too often they are herded into classes taught by teaching assistants hardly older than themselves. The feeling comes that they are nameless, faceless numbers on an assembly line—green cap at one end and cap, gown and automated diploma at the other. They want someone to know they are there—they aren't even missed and recorded as absent when they aren't there.

"The symptoms of rising rebellion have been evident for some time. They no longer bother to vote in student elections. So that other tiny group with its revolutionary purpose elects the student body officers and editors who proceed to speak in the name of the university.

"This generation—better informed, more aware—deserves much more.

"First, those who administer and teach must make it plain they will not be coerced by threats of force. They must spell out in advance those kinds of misconduct they will not tolerate and that there will be no negotiation with any who threaten violence. But this is only for that revolutionary minority—the university can dispose of the threat they represent in a week if they will take a stand.

"The greater problem has to do with those others, and it begins with establishing communication. Their legitimate grievances must be understood and solutions must be forthcoming. 'Publish or Perish' as a university policy must be secondary to teaching. Research, a vital and essential part of the process, must not be the standard by which the university rates itself. Its function is to teach and its record must be established on the quality of graduates it offers to the world—not on the collecting of scholarly names in its catalogue.

"The few subversives on our campuses will be a problem much easier to handle if the members of that so-called great 'silent majority' have inner convictions, beliefs and confidence in our society and in us as adults."

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Mitchell On 'Miranda' Spells Difficulties for Court

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell has told Justice Department lawyers to resume using confessions as evidence against defendants even when a confession violates the rules laid down by the Supreme Court in the *Miranda* decision of 1966.

Mr. Mitchell is thus helping to set the stage for what will clearly be one of the most dramatic and critical years in the history of the Supreme Court. In the *Miranda* decision the Warren Court outlawed the use of any confession unless the defendant had been advised of his right to silence and to a lawyer and had waived those rights.

During the Johnson Administration, the Justice Department adhered to this blanket rule even though it meant freedom for many confessed criminals. Mr. Mitchell's purpose is to bring the matter before the court again in the hope that it will modify its earlier decision.

The *Miranda* decision has complicated police work on the state and local level even more than on the federal level. But its greater importance is as a symbol of the Warren Court's broad and overly zealous efforts to read into the Constitution not what was intended but rather what the members of the court thought it ought to say.

This attitude has led to widespread and often justified popular complaints about judicial "legislation" in areas of obscenity, subversion, racial integration, and religion, as well as crime. President Nixon has expressed the hope that this trend will be reversed. The new chief justice, Warren E. Burger, has accused the Warren Court of going too far. And Congress, in the anticrime law of 1968, specifically overruled the Warren Court on two points, one being the matter of confessions. Congress said, in effect, that a confession can be voluntary and therefore admissible even though the *Miranda* formula may not have been followed to the letter.

In short, the Burger Court is going to find itself in the vortex of a storm involving the respective rights of Congress and the courts, the conflicting opinions of liberals and conservatives, and the confrontation everywhere between the forces of law and order and of social revolution. Under these circumstances, it is essential that the court be able to command public confidence.

The nearer we get to the court's October term, the more clearly the specific issues are likely to be defined—and the harder it will be for Mr. Nixon to fill the remaining vacancy of the court without opening himself to charges that his decision was based on this particular issue or that one.

This is not the way a Supreme Court justice should be picked, or even seem to be picked. President Franklin Roosevelt's threat to pack the court to obtain approval of his New Deal legislation,

Atty. Gen. Mitchell's Justice Department appears tougher on criminals than under past Democratic Administrations.

and the court's surrender, constituted a scandal for which history will never forgive either of them.

A justice should be picked on the basis of experience, integrity, wisdom, and his conformity to the President's general ideology. The more clearly the issues are defined, the harder it becomes to distinguish between specific issues and general ideologies. Mr. Nixon should therefore fill the vacancy as soon as possible.

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Eyewitness Report

Chances Slim for Cooling Off in Middle East

By RICHARD J. BOCKLET

Tel Aviv:—The always precarious Middle East tensions are increasing. For months now, the cease-fire line between Egypt and Israel Sinai-controlled experiences regular bombardments. U.N. Secretary U Thant recently threatened removal of his observers who've become little more than "sitting ducks in a shooting gallery."

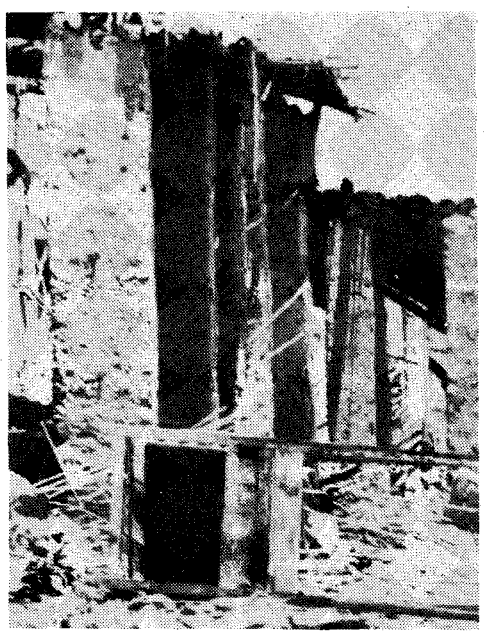
Along the east and west banks separating Israel and Jordan, artillery and mortar duels are fought daily. Commandos from both sides slip into enemy territory to plant mines and ambush patrols. Raids from fedayeen—Jordan-based Palestinian guerrillas—are avenged with Israeli Mirages and Arab MIG 21s are becoming regular events over the Golan Heights area to the north and the Suez Canal to the south.

As military authorities here see it, Egyptian buildups are taking place along the Suez Canal, to the south at the Gulf of Suez and along the Mediterranean coast. To the far north, at the Syrian border, tank, artillery and military deployment has increased threefold in the last three months.

Israel's long western frontier with Jordan is spotted with around 15,000 Arab troops. Added to this are some 10,000 Palestinian guerrillas who daily engage in hit-and-run maneuvers.

The thinking here is that Arabs are coordinating Egyptian and Syrian forces to form a north-south pincer movement if open warfare comes.

On June 30 Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir charged Egyptian forces with 333 artillery bombardments that month, including 121 incidents with light

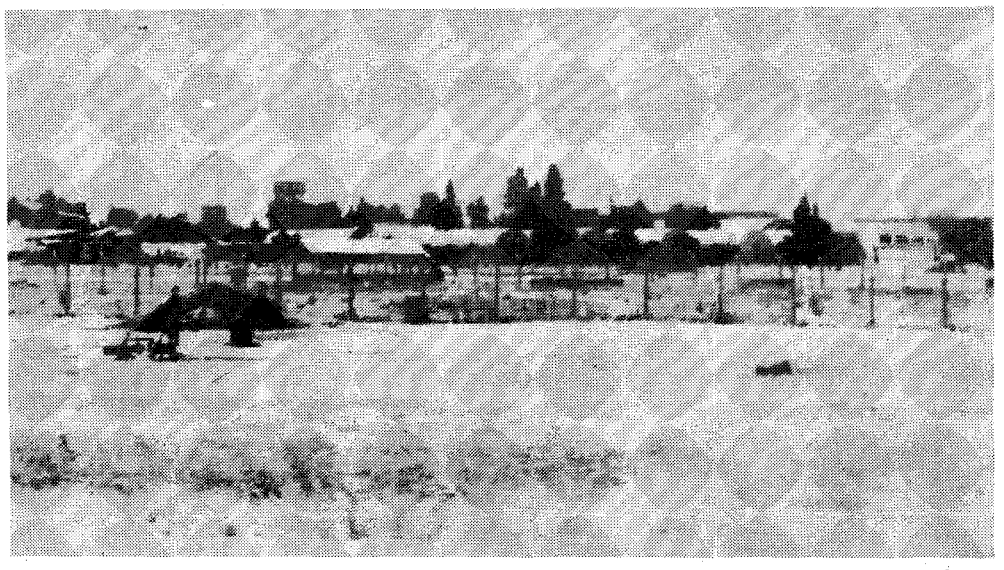


Above is the town of Karameh, Jordan —destroyed in a bitter 1968 clash.

arms. From Jordan, 111 cases of firing occurred, with army units participating in 16 incidents. She accused Iraq of supplying forces for anti-Israel attacks and supporting organizations.

And amid the artillery fire, verbal barrages are sharpening. In May, Defense Minister Moshe Dayan asserted: "I'm not sure we can remain on the defensive." Then in July he urged Israelis to prepare for "partial war" with Arabs along cease-fire lines. A few days earlier, Prime Minister Meir had warned: "Anybody who fails to honor the cease-fire agreement and shoots at us cannot claim immunity from the results of aggression. . . [And they] should not be surprised if they are hit sevenfold in response."

Mr. Bocklet, a free-lance writer specializing in foreign affairs, is a frequent contributor to Human Events.



Anti-aircraft guns ring the airport at Amman. The Arab air forces have continued to suffer heavy losses when engaged by Israeli pilots.

On the other side, resolve is equally firm.

In a no-holds-barred speech in March, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser pledged: "There will be no negotiations with the enemy and no peace with the enemy." Declaring a new stage in the struggle "to recover the occupied lands," he vowed the battle would not be waged prematurely nor "24 hours too late."

In June King Hussein of Jordan called war with Israel the Arab's destiny: "We are in a situation which compels us to make continuous improvement and development as we face our hardest test. A battle may be forced on us at any moment."

And if Arab commandos have their way, battle lines will be broadened. Guerrillas have warned that Israeli airliners are likely targets for terrorists' bullets and there have already been two attacks, one in Switzerland, the other in Greece. In response, Israel reacted with a terror attack on the Beirut airport last December.

Meanwhile, in West Germany, an Israeli official mentioned Kuwait's water supply works as a possible future target in a broadened battle. Israel charges Kuwait with supporting fedayeen forces and supplying troops to the Suez Canal area.

Just how far the whole conflict can be stretched, no one here can predict.

Given the intensified action along all fronts, then, is the area headed for all-out war? The consensus of qualified opinion here says no, not for the time being.

Commented one Israeli government source to this reporter: "Col. Nasser is under great domestic pressure to do something, to recapture some of the prestige he lost after the devastating June 1967 war. The current flare-ups around the Suez area might be a prelude to an asasult on the Sinai Peninsula. Not to recapture it all, but maybe just several kilometers, to show his people he's doing something."

Maj. T. Jonas, of the Israeli Armed Forces, summarized current military thinking for me: "The Arab military position is stronger than before the '67 conflict, with some 700 Soviet-supplied combat aircraft, including 170 MIG 21s. So far, the Russians have pumped $2.8 billion of war supplies into Egypt, Syria and Iraq. All this, by the way, in 10-year credits, with a low 2 per cent interest rate while Israel pays cash for its materials.

"But despite this," he continued, "we don't expect the Arab countries to launch war in the near future. Israel possesses the over-all military strength and planning ability. And very important, air superiority is clearly ours. [Just recently Israeli jets downed eight Arab MIGs over the Golan Heights while suffering no losses. According to official statements here, this ups to 27 the number of Arab jets downed in dog fights since the '67 war. Israel reports seven planes lost from anti-aircraft fire during this period.] The Arabs couldn't get very far with our forces raining fire down on them from the air."

While unlikely, however, no one rules out a rash, ultra-nationalistic attack against the Israelis.

But while Israel does not fear immediate full-scale attack, terrorist incursions keep the atmosphere tense. With recent incidents of fedayeen bombings in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, security is the watchword. Red-beret-wearing HAGA—civilian defense patrol members—are alert to potential saboteurs. Strangers especially are watched, as are unattended bags and packages suspected of containing bombs.

In one incident, I left my bag for several minutes to place a phone call. Officers hastily broke into it and whisked it off to police headquarters. After two hours of inspection and interrogations at the Russian Compound station in Jerusalem, I was finally permitted to leave with my suitcase.

But what of the issues that have led up to the present tense Middle East situation?

The Palestinian refugee problem is certainly one of the most important. The United Nations and the Arab governments recognize a million and a half or more refugees are living in camps in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. These people must be returned to their homeland, Arabs insist, before peace can be finally achieved.

Gideon Saguy, of the Israeli Foreign Affairs Office, told me his government's position. "It depends on who you regard a refugee. Many of them were born since 1948 outside of Israel. We recognize perhaps a couple hundred thousand, but not more. Certainly we're not going to allow a million and a half back to form a fifth column to cause an internal explosion."

On the issue of a Four Power or U.N. settlement Saguy said: "The problem cannot be solved by an imposed settlement from the outside. Peace by proxy just is not acceptable. We have to deal across the table with the Arabs, and this has happened before, in 1949, for instance." Because the Arabs feel that such talks would constitute recognition of the state of Israel they have firmly rejected them.

Saguy remarked that use of international waterways, especially the Suez Canal, "together with restoration of pre-1967 boundaries, official recognition of Israel, and renunciation of future hostilities are all topics for the conference table. Some arrangement must be reached there."

Rising defense costs and the escalation of terrorist attacks also concern the Israeli government. As Saguy said: "Defense accounts for about one-third of our budget, which, of course, is quite high. But if the Russians keep supplying the Arabs we'll just have to continue with these vital expenditures. As for the terrorists, they're definitely not a security threat and Arabs in occupied areas are not backing them. Life goes on normally throughout the country. Most of this action is far from population centers."

In sum, then, the United Nations and the Four Power negotiators have difficult work ahead. Areas of possible conciliation seem at a minimum. Violence flares daily, and probably will continue here in the foreseeable future.

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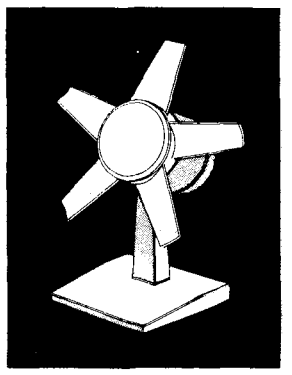

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NATO Intelligence Concerned

Soviets Storing Military Supplies on Czech Border

By PAUL SCOTT

Russia is stockpiling large amounts of military equipment and food supplies at strategic points along its borders with Czechoslovakia and East Germany.

At one major rail crossing near Cierna, Czechoslovakia, an estimated 10,000 Soviet freight cars loaded with military supplies have been moved onto rail sidings in recent weeks.

This massive concentration of military supplies, apparently under way since mid-May, has been placed under heavy Russian security guard. A number of the rail transfer points have been put off limits to all civilians on both sides of the border.

When the mysterious buildup was first reported to North Atlantic Treaty Organization authorities, it was their opinion that the military supplies were being stockpiled to support the day-to-day operations of Russian occupation troops in Czechoslovakia.

The magnitude and stragetic location of the stockpiles, however, have caused NATO intelligence experts in recent weeks to drastically change this original assessment.

The new view of the majority of these NATO experts is that the military supply buildup is part of a long-range Kremlin plan to provide Russian troops in Czechoslovakia and East Germany with the capability of conducting lightning-like military operations in Central Europe at any time.

An important factor in modern war is that, long before it can be carried out in Europe, enormous preliminaries must be undertaken by any aggressor.

For example, it is necessary to position troops and supplies, install advance command posts, build temporary airfields, and tank repair facilities, as the Russians are now doing in Czechoslovakia—the invasion route to the heart of Western Europe.

Even more important, the Russians have begun tightening control over the Czech population so there could be no interference with their supply routes. Main Czech transportation systems and centers are now completely in control of the Soviet army.

With 300,000 Soviet troops now positioned in Czechoslovakia and East Germany, the Russians now have the most formidable army poised on the borders of West Germany since the end of World War II.

Significantly, the Russians have taken some extraordinary steps to disguise or put a fig leaf over this ominous buildup since it became known to NATO intelligence officials.

In Prague and Bonn, Soviet diplomats have held background briefings for foreign diplomats and newsmen to discount the importance of the concentration of Soviet freight cars on the Czech-Soviet border.

The Russians claim that the freight cars carry only iron ore, coal and meat for Czechoslovakia and that the huge "back-up" of rail cars is due to a massive rail snafu by Czech railway officials.

According to the Kremlin's propaganda cover-up, the Czech officials have been lax in handling the transfer of supplies at the major border rail junctions, forcing thousands of freight cars to be temporarily sidetracked.

NATO agents report a far different story.

They tell of seeing thousands of freight cars loaded with hundreds of tanks, artillery pieces, and unperishable food stored on the rail sidings under heavy Soviet guard.

Normal rail traffic between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, according to these NATO agents, is running near schedule with the only delays being caused by the heavy flow of military supplies from the Soviet Union. They report finding large truck and tank fuel storage areas at the Czech-Soviet border rail junctions.

In addition to the stockpiling, three Soviet divisions secretly returned to Czechoslovakia after last August's invasion, are scheduled to take part in large-scale maneuvers scheduled for near the West German border later this month.

Because of the scope of the military supply buildup and the size of the coming Soviet troop maneuvers, American intelligence authorities are convinced the Kremlin is preparing to launch a series of new diplomatic-military moves in Europe this fall.

The two-pronged offensive, they say, will be aimed at trying to destroy NATO as an effective Western military alliance, tightening Soviet control over Eastern European nations, and pressuring West Germany into the Soviet orbit.

President Nicholas Ceausescu's Kremlin-approved invitation for President Nixon to visit Communist Rumania fits into Soviet strategy.

The Nixon visit, on the very eve of Rumania's Communist party Congress, provided an immense filip for President Ceausescu and his Moscow-drafted proposal for an all-European security conference.

Above, Soviet tanks on maneuvers. In the wake of last year's invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Russians have established a firm grip on that country's transportation system for their own military ends.

For almost a month, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko has been calling ambassadors of NATO countries stationed in Moscow to the Kremlin to urge them to recommend support for such a conference in messages to their governments.

In these private talks Gromyko proposed that the NATO military alliance be junked for a Russian-designed, all-European security post, which would sanction the stationing of Soviet troops in all Eastern European countries.

The all-European security conference has been thrice officially proposed since 1966 by the Warsaw Pact nations with Russia's blessing. Each time it got nowhere because it implied exclusion of the U.S.

But since March—the last time it was urged—there have been unofficial hints that the Americans wouldn't be left out in the cold if President Nixon would agree to Soviet terms. President Ceausescu was reportedly authorized by the Kremlin to say this to President Nixon.

A Study in TV Dyslogia

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Some readers complain that "dyslexia," which I recently used to denote an ailment common to self-styled intellectuals, is not in their dictionaries. My Webster's defines it as "loss of power to read, as in some forms of aphasia."

"Aphasia," of course, is better known. Thus Webster's: "Total or partial loss of the use or understanding of language, *the vocal organs remaining intact.*" Pray note that last phrase.

But a recent case suggests that the best term for this liberal syndrome is the more inclusive "dyslogia," defined as "impairment of the power of reasoning."

On the CBS program, "Sixty Minutes," Harry Reasoner and Mike Wallace explore various matters of current interest. And just recently one segment dealt with the career of H.L. Hunt, the Dallas billionaire, whom Wallace interviewed.

Now it was not in the cards that Wallace would find Hunt his beau ideal. Hunt started from scratch, and the self-made man who, *à la* Horatio Alger, rises from rags to riches by his own bootstraps blasphemes the liberal tenet that it can't be done without government aid.

Any such person is normally suspect, and can get off the proscribed list only by contributing heavily to causes which denounce the Alger view as outmoded. Had Mr. H. made a handsome donation to, say, the Americans for Democratic Action, he might now be acclaimed in intellectual circles.

But he has refused all such forms of absolution and has instead spent his money in propagating the myth of the rugged individual. Mind you, I do not pretend to have kept up with his multitudinous writings and broadcasts, and so offer no judgment on them. But both friend and foe will stipulate that, in the political spectrum, he leans to the right. The far right, perhaps, if CBS represents the middle. I said "if."

Considering all this, I thought Wallace did a fair job in the main. True, he was patronizing about Hunt's frugality—the Texan is definitely not an Onassis—and has rather simple pleasures and outlook on life, but then Broadway sophisticates rarely get excited about rural charms.

But Mike was less restrained about Hunt's politics. When he noted that Hunt had supported Douglas McArthur, Joe McCarthy and Barry Goldwater, Mike's inflection made it clear he would rather be found dead than caught voting the same ticket as Hunt.

I found a notable omission here and made a mental note to check on it by writing to Mr. Hunt. But the very next morning I learned that the Texan was due to spend a day or so in my own town of Beverly Hills, and thereupon arranged to see him in person.

Not that I travel in billionaire circles. I had met Mr. Hunt only once, and that for a brief moment while covering the 1964 Republican convention. Let me add that on the same day I also met and shook hands with Jesse Unruh, a power among California Democrats, and Sen. Jacob Javits of New York—and have not seen them since, either. In fact, I doubt the latter two would shake hands with me again.

At any rate, I got to see Mr. Hunt, mentioned the Wallace program, and came to the point. "Didn't you vote for Kennedy in 1960?"

"Yes," he said. Originally, he'd backed Lyndon Johnson during the primary—both with money and literature. When JFK won the nomination, Hunt had then supported the Kennedy-Johnson ticket.

"Was this a secret?" I asked. Mr. Hunt grinned. "Hardly," he said. "It shook up all Texas and it was headlined in all the papers outside the state."

Well, there it is from the horse's mouth. The question arises, then, how could Mike Wallace overlook that fact? How could he recall that Hunt had plumped for McArthur in 1952, but forget that he had supported Kennedy in 1960? And why didn't somebody in CBS catch the error?

Those with suspicious natures will argue that the omission was deliberate, in order not to destroy the liberal premises Mike works under.

Perish the thought! Me, I hold it was a clear case of the frightful disease, dyslogia.

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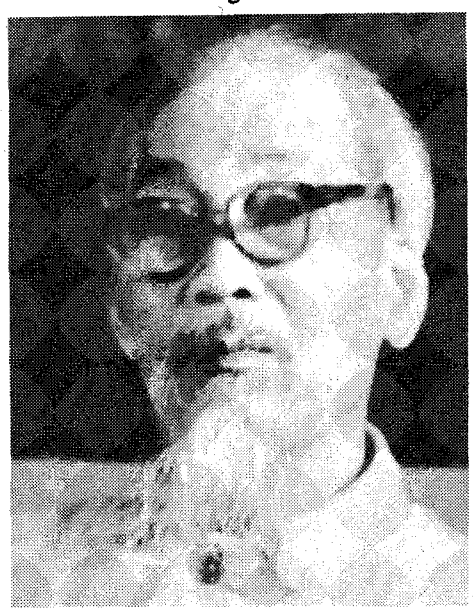
How to Get Ho Chi Minh to Release the POW's

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

To talk with the wife of a downed U.S. flier who has been a prisoner of war in North Viet Nam for almost four years is a heart-wrenching experience. The depth of the mute appeal for help cannot in the nature of things be translated into effective words.

Mrs. Sybil Stockdale, whose husband, Navy Capt. James Bond Stockdale, was shot down in 1965, knows all the frustrating limitations. She is national coordinator of an organization called the



Ho Chi Minh's treatment of American prisoners of war belies his benevolent "Uncle Ho" image fostered by some U.S. liberals.

National League of Families of American Prisoners in Southeast Asia, with headquarters in Coronado, Calif.

She doesn't want to trade on public sympathy; as she says, she is proud of being the wife of a pilot who was doing his duty when misfortune struck. She doesn't want to say anything that could be used to make anti-American propaganda in Hanoi. But there is always the question: Is our State Department doing all it could be doing to have the North Vietnamese treat prisoners in accordance with the humane Geneva Convention of 1957?

Christmas mail and Christmas packages apparently do not go through to prisoners in Hanoi, even though the Geneva Convention stipulates that they are entitled to receive them. The North Vietnamese claim that the 1957 Geneva rules do not cover their situation, inasmuch as the Americans have not declared war. But the convention explicitly says that the accords, signed by North Viet Nam on June 28, 1957, "shall apply to all cases of declared war or of any other armed conflict which may arise between two or more of the High Contracting Parties, even if the state of war is not recognized by one of them." This puts the ball in Ho Chi Minh's court. Unfortunately, Ho Chi Minh doesn't consider he is under any obligation to follow any particular rules of play.

What could be done to make Ho Chi Minh listen? Mrs. Stockdale's organization gets a somewhat less enigmatic response, and considerably more overtly expressed sympathy, from Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird than from his predecessors. She herself has received warm and courteous treatment from both Averell Harriman, Lyndon Johnson's peace negotiator, and the present peace ambassador, Henry Cabot Lodge.

When Xuan Thuy, chief of the Hanoi delegation to the Paris peace talks, refused to release a list of U.S. prisoners of war held by Hanoi (there may be as many as a thousand of them), Laird said he was "deeply shocked and disappointed by this cruel response of Hanoi's representative to such a basic request for humanitarian action."

This sort of thing shows that Laird's heart is in the right place, but the quality of his cardiac response does not get through to North Viet Nam. The whole thing necessarily degenerates into a "you're-another" game of mutual recrimination. The North Vietnamese ask, in effect, "Why did you bomb us if you believe in being humane?" Our answer is, "Why did you try to subvert the government of South Viet Nam if you didn't want war?" So the irresistible rhetorical force meets the immovable rhetorical object.

It so happens that Mrs. Stockdale's National League of Families of American Prisoners in Southeast Asia is repeating an old experience. In 1950 Capt. Eugene R. Guild, of Glenwood Springs, Colo., a retired U.S. Army officer who had lost a son in Korea, formed a no-dues organization called the Fighting Homefolks of Fighting Men. Capt. Guild says that of 389 men known to be held as prisoners in Korea, most were alive at last reports. He has often tried to obtain the names and addresses of their families from the Pentagon, only to be told that such information would invade the "privacy" of American citizens.

Capt. Guild, having waited longer, is not inclined to be so politic as Mrs. Stockdale. He wants to see some "muscle" applied to the North Vietnamese. Addressing himself to President Nixon on behalf of his own organization, he "requests that you demand in Paris that for each percentage of U.S. troops withdrawn from Viet Nam, the Communists liberate a corresponding percentage of the U.S. POWs they hold. This will forestall the holding of our POWs in Viet Nam for blackmail, as the Communists held our POWs in Korea."

Would this jeopardize Nixon's withdrawal plans? Maybe. But if we are to withdraw under duress of any kind, what will be the upshot? A bigger war tomorrow, with more Capt. Guilds and more Mrs. Stockdales forced to form more organizations of the kith and kin of POWs? The game, as we play it, will have no end if "iron" is never exhibited on behalf of the Geneva rules.

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HOW GOVERNMENT "WORKS"—"Comes now an announcement from the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) which says that for $4.50 a copy can be had of a document called, 'Federal Aid Program Information—A Survey of Local Government Needs.' It seems HUD went out and hired a research outfit (cost not mentioned) to study how local officials do or do not get information about HUD programs available to them, or vice versa. 'According to the study,' says the announcement, ' . . . administrators of federal programs are not sufficiently aware of what local officials need to know. Furthermore, the local officials find it difficult to determine what aspects of their local situation can or cannot qualify under the guidelines of a specific federal assistance program, or to determine which alternative programs are available to treat a specific problem.' Exactly. Tells you something about how the government works, doesn't it? Or doesn't work."—From the Washington *Daily News*

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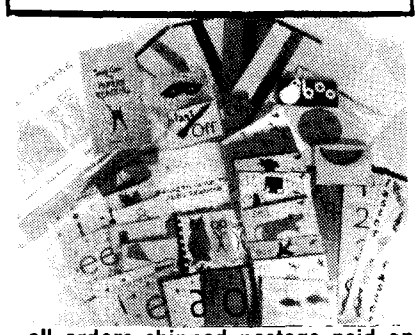

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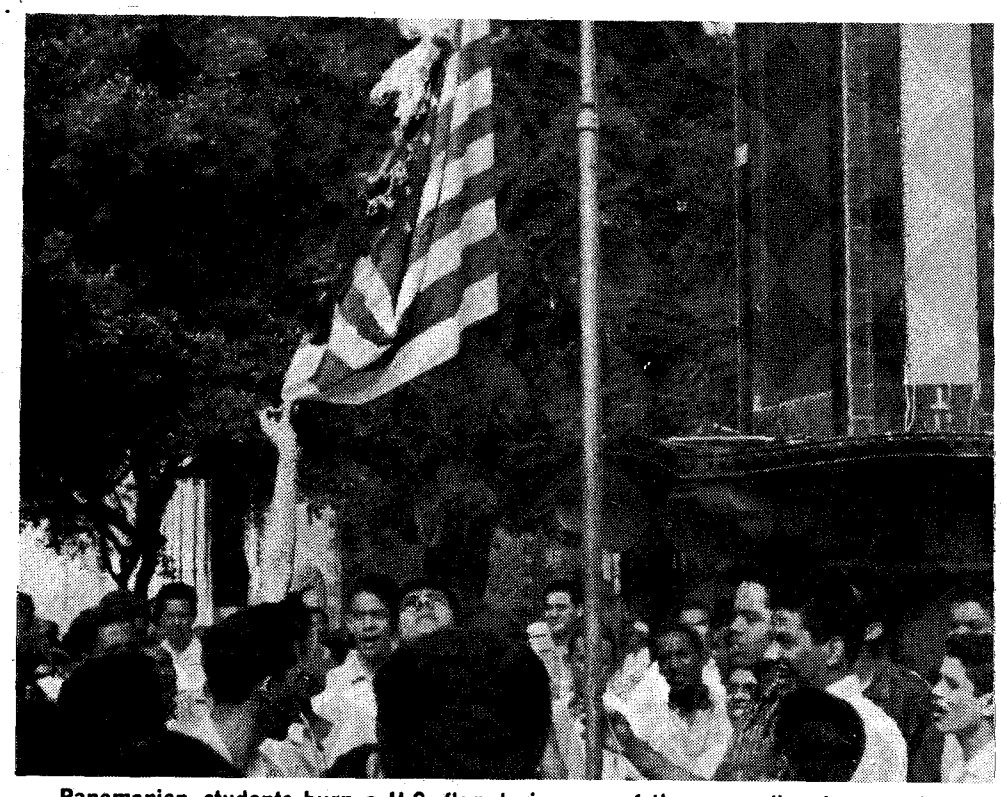

Panamanian students burn a U.S. flag during one of the many disorders south of the border. But a firm hand at the University of Panama has forestalled student violence as useless professors and flunking students were kicked out.

Agitators Agitate No More At the University of Panama

By DUNCAN CAMPBELL in the San Diego *Evening Tribune*

Panama City, Panama:—The Panamanian National Guard, the combination army-police force that now runs the isthmian republic, seems to have worked out a simple solution for student unrest.

Throw out the troublemakers—students and professors alike.

So far it has worked.

Since early July, when the military government began reopening the long-closed University of Panama, several schools at a time, the campus has been quiet.

Students go about their business of learning with scarcely a National Guardsman in sight. A new group of about 100 youthful campus policemen patrols the campus surrounded by a 10-foot-high wire mesh fence topped with three strands of barbed wire. The fence keeps students in and agitators out.

No longer, it is hoped, will provocateurs be able to count on students pouring out of their classrooms and onto adjoining thoroughfares to halt traffic with stones and barricades, hole up in campus buildings exchanging gun fire with the National Guard, or swirl through downtown streets looting and smashing display windows.

The National Guard closed the university last December. This followed an unauthorized student protest march which ended in clouds of tear gas. A cache of small arms was discovered in a subsequent raid on the then-autonomous campus. Leftists, many of them non-students, were involved in the incidents.

Although less than a week remained before graduation, the military government shut the university down and appointed a seven-man board of regents to draft regulations under which the institution could be reopened as a seat of learning rather than as a hothouse for political activists.

A highly respected architect, Edwin Fabrega, was named administrator of the university. Under a previously unenforced regulation, he expelled some 2,000 students, about a quarter of the 1968 enrollment of 8,000, for not having maintained at least a C average for the previous three semesters. That took care of the perennial students, the "fossils," those who linger on campus for decades, retaining student status for political, rather than educational, purposes.

Fabrega retired more than 40 professors, including a number whose political prominence was greater than their academic fame. New deans were appointed, among them Dr. Benjamin Boyd, an ophthalmic surgeon of considerable renown.

It also was decided that only honor students would be permitted to represent the study body on university administrative groups. Strikes henceforth will be permitted only when they have the support of 51 per cent of the students.

It might be expected that, with a military government in control, the new, stricter regulations being enforced at the university would bring no protests.

But, the truth of the matter is, the new faculty, parents and most students were tired of the agitation that so often disrupted classes. There seems to be a general feeling that the university, the students and Panama itself will be better served if students are more concerned with education than agitation.

(Copley News Service)

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SDS AND LABOR—While the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) have been able to run over weak-kneed college administrators and faculty members with relative ease, it appears that their efforts to infiltrate labor unions and shut down factories will be much more difficult to accomplish. Writing in their trade magazine, *The Carpenter*, the general president of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, M. A. Hutcheson, says: "I believe SDS will have a much rougher time trying to disrupt the labor movement than they have had on the college campuses. . . . Some labor union men may be shy on some of the deeper academic subjects, but they all have solid acquaintance with the facts of life—with holding a job, butting heads with an arrogant employer, fighting off insidious assaults of the Communists from whose book SDS is taking a page. They will not run from the threat of confrontation; neither will they quail at the thought that head-knocking may become inevitable. . . . It was the labor movement which defeated the Communist drive in the '30s and '40s. Perhaps it's the destiny of the labor movement to give SDS its comeuppance in the 1970s. . . ."

Continued from page 9

'The Emerging Republican Majority'

the Chinese-Americans and the Japanese-Americans. This was also true for Republican candidates in 1966. So it's very incorrect to put this on a white and non-white basis.

You've given a description of what groups you feel will belong to the Republican party in the future, but what groups will make up the Democratic party?

The trend seems quite obviously to be a combination of intellectuals, young people who are still basically involved in the activist and campus liberal syndrome, and the "silk-stocking" electorate, principally those with vested interests in the vocations of the affluent intelligentsia. And then, added to these, of course, would certainly be the sizable core of working-class supporters in areas still in the Democratic party orbit and then a very large group of Negroes. But I think a number of Democrats are concerned about the very, very sharp deterioration of Democratic loyalties in the working-class Northern areas and in the Western and Southern rural and small-city areas. Without this broad support the Democrats run the risk of their party coming very strongly under the influence of groups whose domination would then keep them in a minority status nationally.

You contend that the dramatic Republican election victories in 1966 pushed the Sun Belt to the fore as a mainstay of the emerging Republican majority. Why is that?

Between 1964 and 1966, the same middle classes which had hesitated to support Barry Goldwater in 1964 were swayed by big city riots (San Francisco, Los Angeles), unpopular "Great Society" programs, Vietnik and university (Berkeley) agitation and the various controversies surrounding the conduct of the Viet Nam war. As a result, the conservative trend in 1964 became overwhelming in 1966, electing Republicans in Sun Belt upsets from California to Florida.

The epochal conservative triumphs followed the general geopolitical outlines which the Goldwaterites themselves had postulated in 1964. Claude Kirk, running as a conservative, lost Florida's liberal and minority-group-settled centers of Miami and Tampa, but rounded up heavy majorities in resort, retirement and technological centers, augmented by rural Dixiecrat support. He became the state's first Republican governor since Reconstruction. Likewise, John Tower became the first Republican elected to a full term in the Senate from Texas. Tower lost the Negro and Rio Grande Mexican sections, but swept the white precincts of Dallas, Fort Worth and Houston, as well as rural East Texas and the oil and ranch counties of the West Texas Plains.

Led by the booming cities, Georgia cast its first plurality for a Republican governor, South Carolina elected its first GOP senator since Reconstruction and the three principal cities of Alabama re-elected conservative Republicans to the House of Representatives. Oklahoma elected its second Republican governor in history, New Mexico its third, largely because of votes cast in the urban explosion centers—Tulsa, Oklahoma City and Albuquerque. Led by Phoenix, Arizona also went strongly Republican.

Ronald Reagan's smashing one-million-vote gubernatorial triumph in California revealed a dynamic conservative trend in that state and vindicated the basic Goldwater strategy. The onetime movie actor carried every Southern California congressional district, except the three in Los Angeles with large Negro, Jewish and Mexican populations.

Much of this Sun Belt is traditionally Democratic, but the 1966 election demonstrated that many Democrats in this area had finally decided to cast their lot with the GOP. If the Republicans do a creditable job, hewing to a moderate-conservative philosophy, these Democrats will probably continue in the GOP fold.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

House Spending Spree

By REP. GLENN DAVIS (R.-Wis.)

For three long days recently, the House went around and around on the Labor-Health, Education and Welfare appropriations bill. The winner, spending; the loser, restraint. Our committee had already added more than $150 million to the President's proposals; the House added over $900 million more. Although in earlier action the House had expressed its approval for *block,* as opposed to specific category grants for education, with greater discretion in the hands of state and local officials, the House overwhelmingly approved an $894-million package amendment which specified huge sums for several different categories of educational aids.

With schools in more than 350 congressional districts receiving "impacted aid" funds because parents of the children are employed at federal facilities (flagrant example: schools in Maryland and Virginia counties based on employment in the District of Columbia, counties of burgeoning assets based on that same federal employment), and with members of the Emergency Committee for Full Funding descending on Washington like West Virginia locusts, the stampede to "get some money for the folks at home" rolled on.

But the naive celebrants may yet find themselves with a paper victory. Congress *permits* money to be spent; i.e., *appropriates* the money, gives *permission* to do so. The *President* is *not required* to expend the money. He may yet *freeze* a substantial portion of the billion dollars, in line with his April budget directives, and with his July directive to the departments and agencies of the federal establishment to reduce proposed expenditures by another $3.5 billion.

Nixon Trip Comment

By REP. ED DERWINSKI (R.-Ill.)

Like so many others, I welcome the President home and trust that the results of his trip will be positive in the search for peace. I should like to point out to the members of Congress, especially those on the Republican side of the aisle, that we used to snicker a bit at the way in which our Democratic friends would rush to the well and eulogize Presidents Kennedy and Johnson after their worldwide trips. I wish we would not fall into the same pattern. Let us treat the President's trips objectively. Let us not succumb to political idolatry. While I believe the President conducted himself in an effective fashion and while I believe he has seized the initiative in foreign affairs, let us wait three or four months before we label this one of the great diplomatic trips of history. The results are not in yet, especially the results from some of the private conferences on the trip. While we wish the President well and believe his trip has been successful, let us not blindly fall into the pattern of patting the chief executive on the back as if he possesses papal infallibility.

Don't Forget Castro

By SEN. EDWARD J. GURNEY (R.-Fla.)

Lately we have heard many urge us to look more favorably on the Communist government in Cuba. According to the Castro apologists, the Cuban social experiment is taking form, and the Cuban people are feeling the benefits of the first social revolution in Latin America. The facts contradict this illusion of social advancement and put the Castro regime in proper context: the Cuban Communist social revolution is taking form, and it has turned out to be a colossal flop.

Fidel Castro is in trouble, and he is turning to his old friend, the Soviet Union, for help. Consequently, it would be in our best interests to stop the talk of loosening the Cuban embargo and showing sympathy for the Cuban dictator. Quite obviously, Cuba's Communist government is failing to meet the needs of the people, and repressive controls are being tightened. This does not sound to me like the work of a social revolution, and the U.S. government should not be fooled into accepting this false picture. We should do everything in our power to help make the demise of Castro a reality.

Tax-Exempt Foundations

By REP. GENE SNYDER (R.Ky.)

Although many tax-exempt foundations engage in worthwhile causes, there are many which I believe violate the intent of the law. Tax-exempt status is granted to foundations on the condition that "no substantial amount of money goes to partisan political activity." The Ford Foundation, for example, gave several large grants to finance voter registration drives for candidates in some of our cities. The National Student Association, for instance, uses the tax-exempt status to engage in left-wing activity on America's college campuses. Tax reform proposals should include investigation of these doubtful practices.

Social Security Benefits

By REP. CHARLOTTE REID (R.-Ill.)

The Nixon Administration and the Congress are committed to a fight against inflation and for stabilization of the dollar, but in the meantime we must review the adequacy of present Social Security benefits and make necessary changes. While Congress has periodically increased Social Security pensions, there is generally a time lag of several years during which the pensioners have suffered from a drop in their purchasing power. Since the last increase became effective in February 1968, the consumer price index rose 4 per cent through December 1968.

I have introduced two bills relating to the Social Security program. The first would provide an initial increase in the benefits payable to individuals equal to the rise in the cost of living since the last increase in February 1968—to be followed by automatic adjustment of benefits whenever the consumer price index rises by 3 per cent or more.

The second bill would increase the earnings limitation from $1,680 to $3,600 a year. In my judgment it is wrong to penalize people who want to work and to keep them from Social Security benefits toward which they have contributed for years. The policy of this Congress and the federal government ought to be to encourage productivity rather than to discourage it.

House Boosts HEW Funds, 293-120

Following is the 293-to-120 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives voted on July 31 to increase authorizations for the Labor and HEW departments by some $900 million. The cost-boost amendment was sponsored by Rep. Charles Joelson (D.-N.J.).

DEMOCRATS FOR: 194

Adams, Addabbo, Albert, Alexander, Anderson (Calif.), Anderson (Tenn.), Ashley, Aspinall, Baring, Barrett, Bevill, Biaggi, Bingham, Blanton, Blatnik, Boggs, Boland, Bolling, Brademas, Brasco, Brinkley, Brooks, Brown (Calif.), Burke (Mass.), Burlison (Mo.), Burton (Calif.), Byrne (Pa.), Celler, Chisholm, Clark, Clay, Cohelan, Conyers, Corman, Culver, Daddario, Daniels (N. J.), Davis (Ga.), Dawson, de la Garza, Delaney, Dent, Diggs, Dingell, Donohue, Dorn, Downing, Dulski, Eckhardt, Edmondson, Eilberg, Evans (Colo.), Fallon, Farbstein, Fascell, Feighan, Fisher, Flood, Flowers, Foley, Ford, William, Fraser, Friedel, Fulton (Tenn.), Galifianakis, Garmatz, Gaydos, Gettys, Giaimo, Gibbons, Gilbert, Gonzalez, Gray, Green (Pa.), Griffiths, Hamilton, Hanley, Hanna, Hansen (Wash.), Hathaway, Hawkins, Hays, Hechler (W. Va.), Helstoski, Henderson, Hicks, Holifield, Howard, Hungate, Ichord, Jacobs, Joelson, Johnson (Calif.), Jones (Ala.), Jones (N. C.), Jones (Tenn.), Karth, Kastenmeier, Kazen, Kee, Koch, Kyros, Landrum, Leggett, Long (Md.), Lowenstein, McCarthy, McFall, Macdonald (Mass.), Madden, Mann, Matsunaga, Meeds, Melcher, Mikva, Miller (Calif.), Mills, Minish, Mink, Mollohan, Monagan, Moorhead, Morgan, Moss, Murphy (Ill.), Murphy (N. Y.), Natcher, Nedzi, Nichols, Nix, Obey, O'Hara, Olsen, O'Neill (Mass.), Ottinger, Patman, Patten, Perkins, Philbin, Pickle, Pike, Poage, Podell, Preyer (N. C.), Price (Ill.), Pryor (Ark.), Pucinski, Purcell, Randall, Rees, Reuss, Rodino, Rogers (Colo.), Ronan, Rooney (N. Y.), Rooney (Pa.), Rosenthal, Rostenkowski, Roybal, Ryan, St Germain, St. Onge, Scheuer, Sisk, Slack, Smith (Iowa), Staggers, Steed, Stephens, Stokes, Stratton, Stubblefield, Sullivan, Symington, Taylor, Tiernan, Tunney, Udall, Ullman, Van Deerlin, Vanik, Vigorito, Waldie, Watts, White, Wilson, Charles, Wolff, Wright, Yates, Yatron, Young, Zablocki

REPUBLICANS FOR: 99

Adair, Andrews (N. D.), Ayres, Beall (Md.), Belcher, Bell (Calif.), Biester, Brotzman, Brown (Mich.), Brown (Ohio), Broyhill (Va.), Burton (Utah), Button, Cahill, Camp, Carter, Chamberlain, Clausen, Don, Conte, Corbett, Coughlin, Cunningham, Dellenback, Dwyer, Esch, Eshleman, Fish, Foreman, Frelinghuysen, Fulton (Pa.), Gubser, Gude, Hammerschmidt, Hansen (Idaho), Harsha, Harvey, Heckler (Mass.), Hogan, Horton, Hosmer, Johnson (Pa.), Keith, Kleppe, Latta, Lukens, McClory, McCloskey, McClure, McCulloch, McDade, McDonald (Mich.), McKneally, MacGregor, Mailliard, Mathias, Meskill, Miller (Ohio), Minshall, Mize, Morse, Mosher, O'Konski, Pelly, Pettis, Pirnie, Pollock, Quie, Quillen, Railsback, Reid (N. Y.), Reifel, Riegle, Robison, Ruppe, Sandman, Schwengel, Shriver, Skubitz, Springer, Stafford, Stanton, Steiger (Wis.), Talcott, Teague (Calif.), Thompson (Ga.), Thomson (Wis.), Vander Jagt, Weicker, Whalen, Whalley, Whitehurst, Widnall, Williams, Winn, Wold, Wyatt, Wydler, Zion, Zwach

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 39

Abbitt, Abernethy, Andrews (Ala.), Bennett, Burleson (Tex.), Cabell, Caffery, Casey, Colmer, Daniel (Va.), Dowdy, Edwards (La.), Flynt, Fountain, Griffin, Hagan, Haley, Hebert, Jarman, Lennon, Long (La.), McMillan, Mahon, Marsh, Montgomery, O'Neal (Ga.), Passman, Rarick, Rivers, Roberts, Rogers (Fla.), Satterfield, Shipley, Sikes, Stuckey, Teague (Tex.), Waggonner, Whitten

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 81

Anderson (ill.), Arends, Ashbrook, Berry, Betts, Blackburn, Bow, Bray, Brock, Broyhill (N. C.), Buchanan, Burke (Fla.), Bush, Byrnes (Wis.), Clancy, Clawson, Del, Cleveland, Collier, Collins, Conable, Cowger, Cramer, Davis (Wis.), Denney, Dennis, Derwinski, Dickinson, Duncan, Edwards (Ala.), Erlenborn, Findley, Ford, Gerald, Frey, Goldwater, Goodling, Gross, Grover, Hall, Hunt, Hutchinson, Jonas, King, Kuykendall, Kyl, Landgrebe, Langen, Lloyd, Lujan, McEwen, Martin, May, Mayne, Michel, Mizell, Morton, Myers, Nelsen, Poff, Price (Tex.), Reid (Ill.), Rhodes, Roth, Roudebush, Ruth, Saylor, Schadeberg, Scherle, Schneebeli, Scott, Sebelius, Smith (Calif.), Smith (N. Y.), Steiger (Ariz.), Utt, Wampler, Watkins, Watson, Wiggins, Wilson, Bob, Wylie, Wyman

NOT VOTING: 19

Thoughts on Gun Control

By REP. CATHERINE MAY (R.-Wash.)

A Washington, D.C., newspaper, the *Evening Star,* has called the key proposal of the National Commission on Violence, recently made public, "blithering nonsense," and "a wacky recommendation." I certainly agree.

The President's Violence Commission, appointed by President Johnson before he left office, has recommended that the federal government confiscate most of the hand guns that are now privately owned by Americans.

The commission states that although only slightly more than one-fourth (or 24 million) of the firearms in the nation are hand guns, they account for about half of all homicides and three-fourths of all firearm homicides. Therefore, it reasons, if Americans were required to surrender their hand guns, crime would be reduced.

What the commission does *not* say is how it expects to make *criminals* give up *their* hand guns.

The *Star* asked, editorially, "How many members of this task force have been awakened in the middle of the night by a scream for help by some member of his family? Probably not one. But thousands of Americans are exposed to this dreadful experience every year. And in such a situation, what is an unarmed house-holder supposed to do against an armed intruder? Hide under his bed, and never mind what happens to his family?"

Fortunately, proposed legislation now pending in Congress would provide a real solution to the problem of the commission of crimes with firearms. These bills would get tough with criminals who use guns by making stiff jail sentences mandatory upon conviction. No longer could judges suspend sentences and turn criminals back out into the streets.

This kind of solution was approved by the House of Representatives last year, but was killed in the Senate because they didn't want to deprive judges of their discretion in imposing penalties. But now, legislation similar to that approved by the House last year is in the hopper again along with other legislation to revoke some of last year's gun control law provisions that have done little but harass law-abiding citizens.

I am for these latter bills because I think they are the correct approach. They get tough with those who commit the crimes, not their victims. We have had enough of this permissive, over-regard for the criminal at the expense of society.

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THE EMERGING REPUBLICAN MAJORITY

by Kevin P. Phillips

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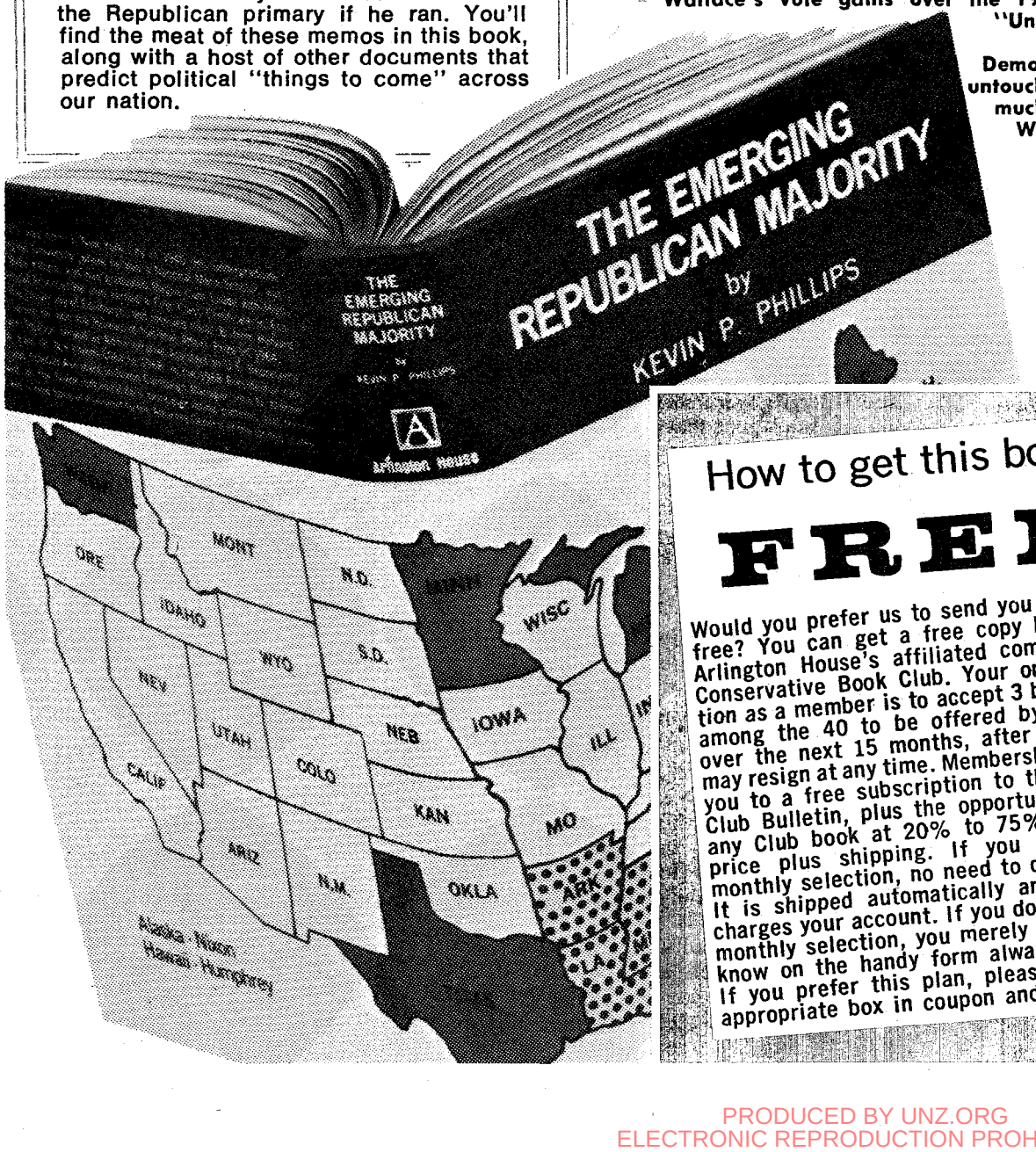
The Emerging Republican Majority tells how that can be done. It does so with an unchallengeable array of facts about how Americans have voted in the past, why they voted that way, why they are changing their vote patterns today.

Kevin Phillips has given us an explosive book — explosive because it demolishes the myths liberal Republicans have perpetrated in their last-ditch effort to retrieve control of the GOP. With the aid of some 47 maps and 143 charts, Phillips shows why the only future for the Republican Party is as the conservative party. He demonstrates that "The upcoming cycle of American politics is likely to match a dominant Republican Party based in the Heartland, South and California against a minority Democratic Party based in the Northeast and the Pacific Northwest (and encompassing Southern as well as Northern Negroes). With such support behind it, the GOP can easily afford to lose the states of Massachusetts, New York and Michigan — and is likely to do so except in landslide years."

As Congressman Paul Fino's aide, two years ago Kevin Phillips prepared memos outlining the ethnic composition of the New York Republican Party and showing how John Lindsay would be defeated in the Republican primary if he ran. You'll find the meat of these memos in this book, along with a host of other documents that predict political "things to come" across our nation.



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- **The vote-pattern split between German Jews and Eastern European Jews. The determining sociological factor in getting Jews to vote Republican.**
- **Puerto Rican backlash against Negroes in New York City.**
- **How Goldwater fared with Irish and Italian voters.**
- **The areas of fastest suburban growth: also the areas of greatest conservatism.**

THE SOUTH

- **Was Goldwaterism in the South a rural phenomenon? Phillips dismisses this liberal cliche.**
- **Populism vs. conservatism in the South.**
- **Dixiecrat areas that do not fit the popular image of being poor, uneducated, uncultured.**
- **Can Negroes in the Southern Black Belts hope to win statewide elections? What the statistics suggest.**
- **Wallace's vote gains over the 1948 Dixiecrats. "Unlike Thurmond, who left white Democratic loyalties untouched throughout much of the South, Wallace left few intact."**

THE HEARTLAND

- **How vote patterns in the Border States reflect migration patterns along the Ohio Valley, the Central Mississippi, and valleys of tributaries like the Kanawha, Scioto, Wabash, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee and Arkansas.**
- **Shaker Heights, Grosse Point and Winnetka as Establishment outposts, not typical Midwestern suburbs.**
- **3 main issues affecting Farm Belt politics.**
- **Religion's role in the Great Lakes-Border states. Yankee Congregationalists vs. Butternut Baptists and German Catholics alike.**
- **Why does Milwaukee have "the longest bridge in the world?" ("Because it separates Africa and Poland.")**
- **Romney and Percy win with solid white "backlash" support — and few Negro votes.**
- **Why both slopes of the Rockies are considerably more conservative than the mountain core area.**

THE PACIFIC

- **Goldwater, though losing California in 1964, carries two fastest-growing counties. Conservative stream becomes torrent in 1966. What had happened in the interval?**
- **Liberal Establishment bailiwicks in California. How they ape Northeastern Establishment vote patterns.**
- **The two groups which settled Oregon, and their lasting influence. Why, more than any other state in the West, Oregon resembles the East.**
- **California's Negro-Mexican minority: large enough to provoke white anger, not large enough to achieve the balance of power.**

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